REPUBLICAN CONVENTION
1860

DRAWER 9

Candidates - 1860
Convention

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Abraham Lincoln's Political Career through 1860

Republican Convention 1860

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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Alpha & Argus

Meeting of German Republicans.

May 15, 1860

CHICAGO, May 14.

An informal gathering, without any organization whatever, of German Republicans from different States, took place to-day to consult about the manner and how best to secure the largest support on the part of foreign born citizens for the nominee of the Chicago Convention. The resolution arrived at was to endeavor to obtain from the Republican National Convention a plank in their platform recognizing perfect equality and protection to all citizens at home and abroad, and declaring against any extension of the present term of naturalization and against any discrimination between native and adopted citizens as to their qualification as voters. Messrs. Chase, Seward, Lincoln and Wade were the Presidential preferences of the gentlemen present. The best feeling prevailed and all present appeared animated with the desire to do every thing to secure a Republican victory in November.

BY TELEGRAPH

TO THE

BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

SPECIAL DESPATCH TO THE TRANSCRIPT FROM OUR OWN REPORTER.

CHICAGO, May 15th.

The New England Delegation to the Republican National Convention arrived at midnight.

The delegates were received with immense enthusiasm on their route through Ohio, Michigan and Indiana.

Most of the delegates to the convention have arrived and the city is thronged with visitors from all parts of the country except the cotton States.

The friends of Mr. Seward seem to be confident of his nomination, and anticipate that this result will reached without trouble. They are in excellent spirits this morning, and their hopefulness is apparent to all.

The party from Massachusetts are surprised at the popular demonstrations which have greeted them on their route. The train was saluted at various points, and the enthusiasm was only appeased by speeches from some of the delegates. One would think it was the Fourth of July at the West, to judge from the flags, cannon and other jubilant exhibitions.

The Pennsylvania delegates will support Senator Cameron at the start. Indiana and New Jersey are in favor of Judge McLean—while the delegation from Illinois will press the claims of Abe Lincoln, their gallant champion against the "Little Giant" in the recent Senatorial contest in that State.

TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

CHICAGO, 14th—10 P. M.

CHICAGO CONVENTION. The Tribune correspondent says that the confusion still increases. The confidence of the Seward party is firmer than ever; his friends claim 85 electoral votes on the first ballot, and his nomination on the fourth by the aid of Ohio and parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Illinois. On the other hand New England is deserting from Seward. He is not likely to hold half her vote, perhaps not one-third.

Minnesota and California threaten early dissension, and the leading men of four doubtful States say that they will stand firm and united against him. The fact that they show no signs of uniting on a common candidate however is against them.

Governor Dennison of Ohio is here, and it is reported that he and Chase are in a scheme to transfer the Ohio vote to Seward.

Mr. Dudley Field and his friends have joined the party of Bates, and efforts are being made to concentrate the opposition to Seward upon him.

Lincoln seems to be gaining ground, and his Illinois friends are greatly encouraged at the prospect of his uniting the doubtful States and the Northwest.

There is not much talk of Judge McLean, and an old letter of his, recommending the temporizing policy toward the South Carolina nullification, is doing him damage.

At present it is not easy to predict the end. Seward's nomination is possible but not probable, but his friends can have a chief voice in naming who shall be taken if he fails.

There begins to be some talk of Fremont, notwithstanding his letter. Seward's friends say that he is the only man that can beat him (Seward.)

The proclivities of the Virginia delegation are a matter of dispute, They are claimed for both Seward and Bates, but will probably be divided. The rest of the Slave States are for Bates. Kansas will be admitted, and will vote solid for Seward.

The German Convention to-day did nothing, only eight delegates being present. They could not even pass a resolution demanding that the National Convention should denounce the famous Massachusetts two years amendment.

The German friends of Judge Bates are increasing.

Midnight. Two or three hundred people poured into the town tonight, and the hotels are crowded to overflowing.

The delegations will be organized tomorrow, and will show their hands.

The probability of Seward's nomination increases. His friends say it is all fixed, but the opposition is very strong and the experiment is so dangerous a one that it will hardly be perfected, even if the power continues, without further reflection and consultation.

Gentlemen from New England who came here earnest for Seward, and some of them instructed, have satisfied themselves that the nomination ought not to be made. Much now depends upon the course of New England. If they act together, and against Seward, he cannot be nominated; but at present they are divided.

The wigwam is in operation tonight, with speeches from distinguished delegates.

Bates is growing as an alternate to Seward, and seems to afford best promise of success.

Correspondence of the Atlas & Argus.

The Chicago Convention.

CHICAGO, May 15, 1860.

Editors Atlas & Argus:

The Republican Convention meets in this city to-morrow, and yet at present writing (Tuesday morning) affairs are considerably mixed up, and great uncertainty exists as to the result. The opposition to Seward is very formidable—coming with the greatest force from Pennsylvania. The delegates and Republican outsiders from that State assert that there is no use talking, Seward can't carry that State any way his friends can fix it. They are emphatic and determined in this assertion. This staggers Seward's New York friends, who feel some discouraged, considering they came here with such high hopes for his nomination. They supposed that Seward was as much talked of out here as in New York, and that they had only to come here and propose his name and he would be nominated by acclamation; they now find how great was their mistake. They have got an up hill business, yet they are playing the game shrewdly; they are coy, prudent, and move cautiously; they don't rush things, but under the adroit management of Weed, allow matters to drift. Their great hope of success is on the division among the opponents of Seward; they think that if an attempt is made by the opposition to unite on a candidate other than Seward, they will scatter, and enough come to Seward to nominate him.

I am still of the opinion that Seward will be nominated, yet it is not to be done except by the most skilful management. The Democrats out this way and all through the West desire Seward's nomination, as they claim they can beat him certain—easier than any other man.

If the Democrats are judicious and prudent at Baltimore, they can nominate a man who will be triumphantly elected; the Republican party is composed of such discordant and hostile elements, that the nomination of one of their candidates will produce apathy on the part of the defeated ones. The Democrats out here feel proud of and elated with the action of the Charleston Convention in rejecting the seceders' resolutions; they say let them stick to the platform as adopted, and the whole North West will be democratic again and sound to the core.

If Seward is thrown overboard, his friends in New York will be angry and disappointed; they will virtually give up the contest; they will go home and get married and go on their wedding tours, and allow the election to go by default.

On the other hand, if Seward *is* nominated, the Republicans in the conservative States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois, will feel as the Republicans of New York would, if Seward was not nominated—that there was no chance.

D. E. W.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The Organization—Hon. David Wilmot temporary and Hon. George Ashman permanent Chairman—Col. Fremont's Letter.

CHICAGO, May 16.

The Convention was called to order at noon.

Gov. Morgan, with an appropriate address, nominated Hon. David Wilmot, of Pa., for temporary Chairman. The nomination was received with great applause.

The Chair named Judge Marshall, of Md., and Governor Cleveland, of Conn., to conduct Mr. Wilmot to his chair.

Judge Marshall introduced Mr. Wilmot as a man who dared to do right regardless of the consequences. With such men there is no such word as fail.

Mr. Wilmot addressed the Convention briefly, returning thanks for the high and undeserved honor. He would carry remembrance of it with him to the day of his death. It was unnecessary for him to remind the Convention of the high duty devolving upon them. A great sectional interest had for years dominated with a high hand over the affairs of the country. It bent all energy to the extension of and the naturalization of slavery in its mission. The Republican party opposed this policy and desired to restore to the government the policy of our Revolutionary fathers, to resist the dogma that slavery exists wherever the Constitution extends—to read the Constitution as our fathers read it. That Constitution was not ordained to embrace slavery within all the limits of the country. They lived and died in the faith that slavery was a blot and would soon be washed out. Had they deemed the revolution was to establish here a great slave empire, not one would have drawn sword in such a cause. The battle was fought to establish freedom. Slavery is sectional—freedom is national. (Applause.) He deemed it unnecessary to remind the delegates of the outrages and usurpations of the Democratic party. Those outrages will not be confined to the limits of Slave States if the South have power. And the safety of free States required that Republicans should take the government and administer it as it had been administered by Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and even down to Van Buren and Polk.—Before these new dogmas were engrafted in the Democratic policy. He assumed the duties of exhorting the spirit of harmony to control the action of delegates.

Mr. Spooner, of Ohio, moved the following as temporary secretaries: Fred. Hassaurek, of Ohio, Theodore Pomeroy, of New York, Henry F. Blow, of Mo. Rev. Mr. Humphrey delivered the opening prayer.

Mr. Judd, of Ill., moved that a committee of one delegate from each State or Territory represented, to report officers for the permanent organization.

The following is the Committee:

Leonard Andrews, Maine; H. H. Henry, Vt.; Aaron H. Cragin, N. H.; Lienus B. Comins, Mass.; Arthur B. Calif, Conn.; Simeon H. Green, R. I.; H. H. Van Dyke, N. Y.; Ephraim Marsh, N. J.; G. J. Coffee, Pa.; Joshua T. Heal, Del.; James Jeffreys, Md.; E. M. Norton, Va.; V. Burton, Ohio; B. A. Huckleman, Ind.; Wm. Ross, Ill.; Walter M. Murphy, Mich.; J. P. McGregor, Wis.; James F. Wilson, Ia.; Simeon Smith, Minnesota; Adam Hammer, Mo.; A. C. Wilder, Kansas; Samuel Bell, California; Frank Johnson, Oregon; A. F. Burton, Ky.; M. K. Chandler, Texas; O. H. Irish, Nebraska; G. B. Hall, D. C.

As each Southern State and Territory represented was called, loud cheers were given. When the list was concluded, on suggestion the delegates of absent States were called, Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, being received with hisses.

On motion of Mr. Benton, of N. H., a Committee on Credentials were appointed.

Mr. Blank, of Pa., moved a Committee of one from each State and Territory to report the order of business for the Convention. The following were appointed: John L. Stevens, Me.; E. D. Mason, Vt.; B. F. Martin, N. H.; Samuel Hooper, Mass.; Geo. H. Noble, Conn.; N. B. Durkee, R. I.; A. D. James, N. Y.; H. N. Conger, N. J.; Wm. D. Kelly, Pa.; J. C. Clark, Del.; W. P. Ewing, Md.; G. G. Jenkings, Va.; R. M. Corwin, Ohio; Lewis M. Deuditz, Ky.; Walter Marks, Ind.; B. C. Ruckman, Mich.; T. A. Marshall, Ill.; Elisha Morrow, Wis.; S. B. Jones, Minn.; Reuben Noble, Iowa; T. G. Fletcher, Mo.; J. C. Hinckley, Cal.; Eli Thayer, Oregon; A. G. Proctor, K. T.; S. H. Elbert, Nebraska; Joseph Deerhart, D. C.; G. Moyer, Texas.

The rules of the House of Representatives were adopted for the temporary government of the Convention.

Horace Greeley, delegate from Oregon, moved the roll of the States be called, the chairman of delegation to present their credentials and if any contest, the same be referred to the committee on credentials.

Mr. Carter of O., moved to amend the proposition of the gentleman from Oregon or New York, he did not know which, that credentials be presented to committee.

Horace Greeley—I accept the amendment of the gentlemen from Maryland or Rhode Island. I am not particular which. [Loud laughter.]

The motion was adopted.

The Board of Trade invited the delegates to an excursion on Lake Michigan at 5 o'clock P. M.

Judge Goodrich, of Minnesota, in loving acceptance of the invitation, paid a compliment to the people of Chicago, for the liberality and enterprise displayed in the erection and decoration of the fine hall, for the meeting of the Convention.

An enthusiastic delegate proposed "three cheers for the ladies of Chicago."

The Convention compromised with one cheer.

A long discussion took place on a motion that when the Convention adjourn it be till 5 o'clock P. M., which eventually prevailed.

Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, was received with loud cheers. He moved to reconsider the vote accepting the invitation of the Board of Trade, and called attention to the action of another Convention which had wearied the public mind with the length of their discussions.—He hoped this Convention would finish all business by 3 o'clock to-morrow P. M. [Loud applause

The vote was reconsidered, and a Committee appointed to confer with the Board of Trade and fix a future time for the excursion.

The Convention then adjourned till 5 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Wigwam again crowded to overflowing; flood of people pouring in through every door as soon as it is open, filling Hall almost instantly with a densely packed mass from platform to doors. galleries is also filled with ladies, though not so compactly as morning session. Lowry, Pa., reported that the Board of Trade had prepared a large fleet for an excursion on the Lake; would wait till six o'clock for Convention; he moved that the Convention proceed to attend excursion at six o'clock. Lost, amidst applause from the body of the Hall.

Horton, of Ohio, from the Committee of the Permanent Organization, reported the name of George Ashman, of Mass., as permanent President. [Loud applause.

Hon. Preston King, of N. Y., and Carl Schurz, of Wis., appointed a Committee to conduct the President to the Chair.

The following letter from John C. Fremont is in the hands of Judge Staples, of California:

DEER VALLEY, Mariposa co., April 12.

Mr. Dear Sir: I have had the satisfaction to receive your thoroughly sincere and friendly letter of the 8th, from San Francisco, and have to thank you equally for the warmth with which you urge your proposition to my favor, and for your very strong expressions of regret for the position I have taken. Since the campaign of 1856, I have been laboriously occupied with my private affairs, and so exclusively that I have been entirely shut off from the political life of the country. In the beginning of that contest, if I had neither political prestige nor party organization, I had at least, no organized bodies opposed to my organization. Now the case is wholly different. You will give full faith to what I say, when I tell you that I have, personally, no desire for the Presidency; but I do most earnestly desire to preserve, undiminished, the great honor which the vote of the North reflected upon me in that campaign.

In this respect it would be no benefit to myself, and certainly none to the party which I wish to serve, if, under these circumstances, I was brought before the Convention, where I could only be one of the elements of discord. I prefer on the contrary, to constitute as much as possible to its harmony, and leave it to this extent more free to make a prompt selection from among the distinguished leaders who have been actively engaged in maintaining and advancing the principles of the party.

Letters and other indications had led me to think that my name would be placed before the Convention at Chicago, and wishing to have the certainty, in this event, that it would be promptly withdrawn, I ask you to do this friendly act for me, if it becomes necessary. I

rely confidently upon your assurance that my request will be faithfully observed. The contingency which your friendly feelings make appear as probable, I look upon as nearly impossible. In such an event, the nomination would be accepted of course, as the choice of the party and not the result of a struggle for nomination. But I repeat, I consider it impossible. Renewing my thanks for permitting me to avail myself of your friendship, on an occasion of so much importance to me.

I am truly yours,

JOHN C. FREMONT

Atlas & Argus May 17 1860

No. 10,681.

SECOND EDITION.

LATEST NEWS

Midnight Dispatches.

THE REPUBICAN CONVENTION.

Conclusion of First Days' Proceedings.

CHICAGO, May 16.

Mr. Ashman, of Mass., took the chair, and was greeted with immense applause—delegates rising and giving hearty cheers, and when order was restored the President spoke as follows: Gentlemen of the Convention, Republicans and Americans—My first duty is to express to you my deep sense of this distinguished mark of your confidence in the spirit in which it is offered. I accept it, sensible of the difficulties which surround the position, but cheered and sustained by the faith of that the same generasity which brought me here will carry me through the discharge of the duties. I will not shrink from a position at the same time the post of danger as well as of honor. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, we come here at the call of the country from widely separated homes, to fulfill a great and important duty. No ordinary call would have brought us together. Nothing but a momentous question would have called such a vast multitude together to-day. Nothing but a deep sense of the danger into which the government is fast running, could have called people thus in this city to-day, for the purpose of rescuing the government from the deep degradation into which it has fallen. (Loud applause.) We have come here for the purpose of preparing for the last solemn duty freemen have to perform. We have come here in the ordinary capacity as delegates of the people to prepare for the formation and carrying on a new administration, and with the help of the people we will do it. (Applause.)

No mere controversies about miserable abstractions brought us here to-day. We have not come here on any idle questions. The solemn look which I see on every face, and the earnest behavior which has been manifested in all the preliminary discussions, show that all have a deep sense of the solemn obligation resting upon us. Gentlemen, it does not belong to me to make an extended address, but rather to assist in the details of business, which belongs to the Connention; but allow me to say, I think we have a right here to-day, in the name of the American people, to impeach the Administration of our General Government of the highest crimes that can be committed against a constitutional government, against a free people, and against humanity. (Prolonged cheers.)

The catalogue of its crimes is not for me to recite. It is written on every page of the history of the present Administration, and I care not how many protests the President may send to the House of Representatives. (Laughter and applause.)

We are here as the grand inquest of the nation, and will find out for him and his confederates not only punishment, terrible and sure, but a remedy that shall be satisfactory. (Loud applause.)

Before proceeding to business, allow me to congratulate you, and the people, on the striking feature, which I think must have been noticed by everybody who has mixed in the preliminary discussions of people who have gathered in this beautiful city. It is that brotherly kindness and generous emulation which marked every conversation and every discussion, showing a desire for nothing save the country's good. Earnest, warm, generous preferences have been expressed; ardent hopes and fond purposes are declared, but not during the three days I spent among you, have I heard an unkind word uttered by one man against another. I hail it as an augury of success, and if during the proceedings of the Convention you will unite to perpetuate that feeling, and allow it to pervade all your proceedings, I declare to you I think it will be the surest and brightest omen of our success, whoever may be the standard bearer in the great contest.

In that spirit, gentlemen, let us now proceed to business—to the great work which the American people have given in to our hands to do. (Loud cheers.

Mr. Marsh, from the committee on permanent organization, reported the usual number of Vice Presidents and Secretaries.

Mr. Judd, of Ill., on the part of C. G. Thomas, a working Republican of Chicago, presented to the Chair a handsome gavel. He said it was not wood, ivory, and silver alone, which made it valuable. It was precious in consequence of associations, being a piece of oak from the flag ship of the gallant Lawrence.—(Cheers.) It was an emblem of the Republican party, and not noisy. The motto it bore was one which need not be urged upon Republicans —"Don't give up the ship!" He hoped that at the end of this conflict the Republicans would be able to say, with another great commander, "We have met the enemy and they are ours!" (Immense applause.

The President accepted it on the part of the Convention, in a few graceful remarks, declaring that Republicans would observe the motto, and never would give up the ship. (Applause.

Mr. Tracy, of Cal., moved that a committee of one from each State and Territory on resolutions, and that all resolutions be referred to said committee without debate. Adopted, and the committee was appointed and H. R. Selden, of Rochester, was named for the State of New York.

Mr. Rollins, of N. Y., moved that each delegation report the name of one person to constitute a member of the Republican National Committee for the ensuing four years. Carried.

Adjourned till 10 A. M. to-morrow.

Ottawa Tribune May 18 1860

The Chicago Convention—Rumors and Gossip.

THE FRIENDS OF WM. H. SEWARD.—Wm. H. Seward is being earnestly pressed for nomination by the shrewdest and richest politicians in the Republican party. His principal manager is Thurlow Weed, whose hand is seen in almost every movement made so far. The opponents of the New York statesman fear and dread Weed's power.—*Phil. Press.*

THE PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATION.—Most of the Pennsylvania delegates, particularly those from West of the Mountain are already here. Hon. Andrew G. Curtin, the Republican candidate for Governor, and A. K. McClure, the Chairmon of the State Central Committee of Pennsylvania, are also here. It is understood that Curtin and his friends will be satisfied with the nomination of Simon Cameron, but if this cannot be accomplished, I think they would prefer Bell, of Tenn., with a Republican on the ticket for Vice-President. They say that if Douglas is nominated at Baltimore it is very doubtful whether Pennsylvania could be carried against him, even by a combination of all the opposition votes in the State.—*Ibid.*

THE NEW ENGLAND DELEGATION.—A large majority of the New England delegates will vote for Seward on the start, but they are not to be relied upon, and the indications are strong that they are at heart the friends of Banks, and will, if possible, bring about such a condition of affairs that they can spring him on the Convention as a compromise candidate.

Frank P. Blair, sen., is here. He thinks Douglas will be nominated by the Democracy, and that the united strength of the Richmond and the Constitutional Union movements will not prevent him from carrying all the South.—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

This is the city where they raise large brick houses six and seven feet from their foundation without breaking a pane of glass or cracking the plaster of a single room. That is a great feat, but it is nothing to the feats attempted to be practiced here in raising small men into high position.—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

☞ We find the following in the Boston *Times:*

"AFFAIRS ABOUT HOME—A VOICE FROM BUNKER HILL.—We understand that the Democrats of Bunker Hill, Charlestown, are to hold a mass meeting on Monday evening next, to give expression to their sentiments in favor of Stephen A. Douglas for President, and to instruct their delegate, Mr. Johnson, who has misrepresented them, to resign or vote in accordance with the wishes of his constituents."

POSTSCRIPT!

3 O'CLOCK, P. M.

LATEST BY TELEGRAPH.

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

CHICAGO, 17th.

THERE is much excitement, and the streets are crowded. Several processions, headed by bands of music, paraded the streets.

The New York and Michigan delegates with visitors form a great feature in the procession, numbering some 4000, carrying a banner with Seward's likeness.

The Convention was called to order at 10 o'clock. The Wigwam was densely crowded.

The invitation given to delegates to take a trip over Rock Island Railroad to Davenport, Iowa, was laid on the table.

A letter was also read asking the President if he could not send some effective speakers to entertain the 20,000 republicans outside of the building. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Corwin from the Committee on Rules and Orders reported a series of rules for the government of the Convention; among them were that four votes be cast by delegates at large and two from each Congressional district, and that 304 votes being a majority of the whole number of votes when all the States in the Union are represented, on the above ratio, be required to nominate candidates.

Loud cries of "No—No," mingled with cheers and hisses.

Mr. James of N. Y. desired to say that only 17 States were represented, when the rule requiring 304 votes was adopted by one majority. He presented a minority report as a substitute for said rule requiring only a majority of all the votes cast.

Cheers and hisses.

Mr. Carter of Ohio called for the report of the Committee on Credentials, and moved to lay the report on rules on the table for the present. Carried.

Mr. Benton of N. H. reported there were no contested seats from 24 States. Pennsylvania and New Jersey had sent four delegates from each Congressional District, and Iowa eight.

Mr. Davis of Mass., moved to refer back the Texas delegation to the Committee.

Mr. Wilmot moved also to refer back Maryland, Kentucky and Virginia.

This was a representative body of men, who represented no constituency and should not come here with a full vote.

Very warm remarks were made by Mr. Palmer of Maryland, Blakely of Kentucky, and others.

Mr Wilmot replied that such practices would demoralize and break up the party. In Maryland thirty persons had gathered at Baltimore, and sent delegates here. There was no party organization, and there would be none until the Republicans had wrested the government from its present possessors.

If the precedent is now established, there will soon be delegates in Republican Conventions from every State in the Union, only sent there to demoralise and break up the party, and in favor of some Northern intrigue.

One mischievous rule had been adopted when these were admitted, and the other objectionable rule, requiring a majority of all the States of the Union to nominate, grew out of this.

He denied the right of these men, respectable as they were, to pretend to represent Republican constituencies.

EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 17, 1860.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

FIRST DAY.

CHICAGO, 16th.

The Republican National Convention assembled today at the Wigwam.

The doors were opened at 11 o'clock. Long before that hour the concourse of people assembled around the doors numbered many thousands, and more than could gain admittance to the building. As soon as the doors were opened the entire body of the Wigwam was solidly packed with men. The seats in the galleries were as closely packed with ladies. The interior of the hall was handsomely decorated with evergreens, statuary and flowers, and presented a striking appearance. There were not less than ten thousand persons in the building, while the open doors displayed to view crowds in the streets who were unable to obtain more than a glimpse of the inside of the hall.

At 12 o'clock M. the convention was called to order by Gov. Morgan of New York, Chairman of the National Republican Committee, who read the call and addressed the convention as follows:

SPEECH OF GOV. MORGAN.

In compliance therewith, the people have sent representatives here, to deliberate upon measures for carrying into effect the object of the call. Usage has made it my duty to take a preliminary step toward organizing the convention, upon the proceedings of which, permit me to say, the most momentous results are depending. No body of men, of equal numbers, was ever clothed with greater responsibility than those now within hearing of my voice. You do not need me to tell you, gentlemen, what this responsibility is.

While part of the adherents of the national administration are endeavoring to insert a slave code into the party platform, another portion expresses its readiness to accomplish the same result through the action of the Supreme Court of the United States, willing by indirection to do that which, if done directly, would bring a blush even to modern Democracy. While these and other stupendous wrongs absolutely shocking the moral sentiment of the country, are to be fastened upon the people by the party in power,—if its leaders are able to bring the factious elements that compose it into any degree of unanimity,—there seems left no ray of hope except in the good sense of this Convention. Let me then invoke you to act in a spirit of harmony, that through the dignity, the wisdom and patriotism displayed here, you may be enabled to enlist the hearts of the people, and strengthen them in the facts that yours is the constitutional party of the country, and the only constitutional party—that you are actuated by principle, and that you will be guided by the light and the example of the Fathers of the Republic.

Fortunately you are not required to enunciate untried principles of government. This has been well and wisely done by the statesmen of the revolution. Stand where they stood, avowing and maintaining the like objects and doctrines. Then will the end sought for be accomplished; the constitution and the Union will be preserved, and the government be administered by patriots and statesmen.

Governor Morgan then named Hon. David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, for temporary President.

Carried unanimously, with immense applause.

The chair named Judge Marshall of Md., and Gov. Cleveland of Conn., to conduct Mr. Wilmot to his seat.

Judge Marshall introduced Mr. Wilmot as the man who dared to do right regardless of consequences. With such a man there is no such word as fail.

SPEECH OF MR. WILMOT.

Mr. Wilmot addressed the convention, briefly returning thanks for the high and undeserved honor. He would carry the remembrance of it with him to the day of his death. It was unnecessary for him to remind the convention of the high duty devolved upon them. A great sectional interest had for years dominated with a high hand over the affairs of the country. It had bent all its energies to the extension and naturalization of slavery. It is the mission of the Republican party to oppose this policy, and restore to the government the policy of the revolutionary fathers—to resist the dogma that slavery exists wherever the Constitution extends—to read the Constitution as our fathers read it. That Constitution was not ordained to embrace slavery within all the limits of the country. They lived and died in the faith that slavery was a blot, and would soon be washed out. Had they deemed that the Revolution was to have established here a great slave empire, not one would have drawn the sword in such a cause. The battle was fought to establish freedom. Slavery is sectional, freedom is national. (Applause.)

He deemed it unnecessary to remind the delegates of the outrages and usurpations of the Democratic party. Those outrages will not be confined to the limits of the slave States if the South has the power; and the safety of the free States requires that the Republicans should take the government, and administer it as it has been administered by Washington, Jefferson and Jackson, even down to Van Buren and Polk; before these new dogmas were engrafted in the Democratic policy. He assumed his duties, exhorting a spirit of harmony to control the action of the delegates.

Mr. Spooner of Ohio moved the following as temporary secretaries:

Fred. Hassaurex of Ohio, Theodore Pomeroy of New York, and Henry F. Blood of Missouri.

Rev. Mr. Humphrey of Illinois then delivered the opening prayer.

Mr. Judd of Illinois moved for a committee of one delegate from each State and Territory represented, to report officers, for a permanent organization.

The following is the Committee:

Leonard Andrews, Maine; H. H. Henry, Vermont; Aaron H. Cragin, New Hampshire; Linus B. Comius, Massachusetts; Arthur B. Calif, Connecticut; Simeon H. Greene, Rhode Island; H. H. Vandyck, New York; Ephraim Marsh, New Jersey; G. J. Coffee, Pennsylvania; Joshua T. Heal, Delaware; James Jeffries, Maryland; E. M. Norton, Virginia; V. Burton, Ohio; B. A. Huckleman, Indiana; Wm. Ross, Illinois; Walter W. Murphy, Michigan; J. P. McGregor, Wisconsin; Jas. F. Wilson, Iowa; Simeon Smith, Missouri; A. C. Wilder, Kansas; Sam. Bell, California: Frank Johnson, Oregon; A. A. Burton, Kentucky; M. K. Chandler, Texas; O. H. Irish, Nebraska; G. H. Hall, District of Columbia.

As each Southern State and Territory represented was called, loud cheers were given. When the list was concluded, on a suggestion, the delegates of absent States were called—Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina being received with hisses.

On motion of Mr. Benton of New Hampshire, a Committee on Credentials was appointed.

Mr. Blink of Pennsylvania moved for a committee of one from each State and Territory, to report the order of business for the Convention. The following were appointed:

Maine, John L. Stephens; Vermont, E. D. Mason; New Hampshire, B. F. Martin; Massachusetts, Samuel Hooper; Connecticut, George H. Noble; Rhode Island, N. B. Durfee; New York, A. D. James; New Jersey, H. N. Conger; Pennsylvania, Wm. D. Kelley; Delaware, J. C. Clark; Maryland, W. P. Ewing; Virginia, J. G. Jenkins; Ohio, R. M. Corwin; Kentucky, Lewis M. Denbitts; Indiana, Walter Marks; Michigan, D. C. Buckman; Illinois, T. A. Marshall; Wisconsin, Elisha Morocco; Minnesota, S. B. Jones; Iowa, Reuben Noble; Missouri, T. G. Fletcher; California, J. C. Hinckley; Oregon, Eli Thayer; Kansas, A. G. Proctor; Nebraska, I. H. Elbert; District Columbia, Joseph Dearheart; Texas, G. Meyer.

The rules of the House of Representatives were adopted for the government of the Convention.

Horace Greeley, delegate from Oregon, moved that the roll of the States be called, and that the chairman of each delegation present the credentials thereof, and, if there be any contest, that the same be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. Carter of Ohio moved to amend the proposition of the gentleman from Oregon or New York (he did not know which) that the credentials be presented to the Committee.

Horace Greeley—"I accept the amendment of the gentlemen from Maryland or Rhode Island—I am not particular which!" (Loud laughter.)

The motion was adopted.

The Board of Trade of Chicago having invited the delegates to an excursion on Lake Michigan, at 5 P. M., Judge Goodrich of Minnesota, in moving the acceptance of the invitation, paid a compliment to the people of Chicago for the liberality and enterprise displayed in the erection and decoration of a fine hall for the meeting of the Convention.

An enthusiastic delegate here proposed three cheers for the ladies of Chicago.

The convention compromised with one cheer.

Mr. Carter of Ohio moved for a committee of one from each State and Territory, for the preparation of a platform.

After discussion, the motion was laid on the table until the permanent organization was effected.

A long discussion took place on a motion that when the convention adjourn it be to 5 o'clock P. M., which eventually prevailed.

Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, was received with loud cheers. He moved to reconsider the vote accepting an invitation of the Board of Trade, and called attention to the action of another convention which had wearied the public mind with the length of their discussions. He hoped this convention would finish all business by 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon. (Loud applause.)

The vote was reconsidered, and a committee appointed to confer with the Board of Trade and fix a future time for the excursion.

The convention then adjourned to 5 o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Wigwam was again crowded to overflowing, a flood of people pouring in through every door as soon as they were opened, filling the hall almost instantly with a densely packed mass from the platform to the doors. The galleries were also well filled with ladies, though not so compactly as at the morning session.

Mr. Lowry of Pennsylvania reported that the Board of Trade had prepared a large fleet for an excursion on the Lake, and would wait till six o'clock for the convention. He moved that the convention attend the excursion at six o'clock.

The motion was lost amidst applause from the body of the hall.

Mr. Horton of Ohio, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported the name of George Ashmun of Massachusetts, for permanent President.

The report was received and adopted with loud applause.

Hon. Preston King of N. Y., and Carl Schurz of Wis., were appointed a committee to conduct the President to the chair.

Mr. Ashmun, on taking his seat, was greeted with immense applause, the delegations rising and giving him six hearty cheers. When order was restored he spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT ASHMUN.

Gentlemen of the Convention,
Republicans and Americans—

My first duty is to express to you my deep sense of this distinguished mark of your confidence; and in the spirit in which it is offered I accept of it.

I am sensible of the difficulties which surround the position, but I am cheered and sustained by the faith that the same generosity which placed me here will carry me through the discharge of my duties. I will not shrink from the position which is at the same time the post of danger as well as of honor. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, we have come here today at the call of the country, from widely separated homes, to fulfil a great and important duty. No ordinary call has brought us together. Nothing but a momentous question would have called this vast multitude together. Nothing but the deep sense of danger into which the government is fast running could have rallied the people thus in this city today, for the purpose of rescuing the government from the deep degradation into which it has fallen. (Loud applause.)

We have come here at the call of the country, for the purpose of preparing for the most solemn duty that freemen can perform. We have here in our ordinary capacity as delegates of the people to prepare for the formation and carrying on of a new administration, and with the help of God we will do it. (Loud applause.) No mere controversy about miserable abstractions brought us here today. We did not come here on any idle question. The sacrifice which we have made in an extended journey, and the time devoted to it, would not have been made except on some solemn call. The stern look which I see one very face, and the earnest behavior which has been manifested in all the preliminary discussion, show that all have a true and deep sense of the solemn obligations which are resting upon us.

Gentlemen, it does not belong to me make any extended address, but rather to assist in the details of the business which belongs to the Convention. But allow me to say I think we have a right here today, in the name of the American people, to impeach the administration of our general government of the highest crimes that can be committed against a constitutional government; against a free people and against humanity! (Prolonged applause.) The catalogue of its crimes it is not for me to recite. It is written on every page of the history of the present administration of the government, and I care not how many protests the President may send into the House of Representatives. (Laughter and applause.) We here, as a grand inquest of the nation, will find out for him and his confederates not only a punishment terrible and sure, but a remedy that shall be satisfactory. (Loud applause.)

Before proceeding to business, the Convention will allow me to congratulate you and the people on the striking features which, I think, must have been noticed by everybody who has mixed in the preliminary discussions of the people who have gathered in this beautiful city. It is that brotherly kindness and generous emulation which has marked every conversation and every discussion, showing a desire for nothing save the country's good. Earnest, warm, generous preferences are

expressed; ardent hopes and fond purposes are declared; but not, during the three days I have spent among you all, have I heard an unkind word uttered by one man against another. I hail it as an augury of success, and if during the proceedings of the Convention you will unite to perpetuate the feeling and allow it to pervade all your proceedings, I declare to you it will be the surest and brightest omen of our success, whoever may be the standard bearer in the great contest that is pending. (Applause.)

In that spirit, gentlemen, let us now proceed to business; to the great work which the American people have given into our hands to do. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Marsh, from the committee on permanent organization, reported the following as Vice Presidents and Secretaries.

Vice Presidents. S. F. Hersey, Maine; William Haille, New Hampshire; Wm. Heberd, Vermont; Ensign H. Kellogg, Massachusetts; R. G. Hazard, Rhode Island; C. F. Cleveland, Connecticut; Wm. C. Noyes, New York; E. J. Rogers, New Jersey; Thaddeus Stevens, Pennsylvania; John C. Clark, Delaware; Wm. L. Marshall, Maryland; Richard Crawford, Virginia; George D. Burgess, Ohio; John Beard, Indiana; David Davis, Illinois; Thomas W. Ferry, Michigan; H. Crocker, Wisconsin; Henry P. Shottlo, Iowa; Aaron Goodrich, Minnesota; M. D. Gallagher, Kentucky; W. D. Chandler, Texas; A. A. Sargent, California; Joel Burlingame, Oregon; Wm. Ross, Kansas; Geo. Harrington, District Columbia; A. S. Paddock, Nebraska.

Secretaries. Charles A. Wing, Maine; Nathaniel Hubbard, New Hampshire; R. R. Hazard, Rhode Island; H. H. Starkweather, Connecticut; Chas. O. Rogers, Massachusetts; Theodore M. Pomeroy, New York; Edward Bettle, New Jersey; J. Boltman Bill, Pennsylvania; Benj. C. Hopkins, Delaware; Wm. E. Coole, Maryland; A. W. Campbell, Virginia; Horace Beebe, Ohio; D. D. Pellate, Indiana; S. Davis, Illinois; Wm. L. Stoughton, Michigan; L. T. Frisby, Wisconsin; W. R. Allison, Iowa; D. A. Secamb, Minnesota; J. J. Kidd, Missouri; J. J. Hawes, Kentucky; Dunbar Hendersan, Texas; D. J. Staples, California; Eli Thayer, Oregon; John A. Martin, Kansas; H. P. Hitchcock, Nebraska.

The names of Messrs. Marshall, Noyes, Stevens, Crawford, Davis and Burlingame, were received with loud cheers.

Mr. Judd of Illinois, on the part of C. G. Thomas, a working Republican of Chicago, presented to the Chair a handsome gavel. He said it was not the wood, ivory and silver alone that made it valuable; it was precious in consequence of association—being a piece of oak from the flag ship of the gallant Lawrence! (Cheers.) It was an emblem of the Republican party, strong and knotty. The motto it bore was one which need not be urged upon Republicans—"Don't give up the ship!" He hoped that at the end of this conflict the Republicans would be able to say, with another great commander—"We have met the enemy, and they are ours." (Immense applause.)

The President accepted the present on the part of the National Convention, in a few graceful remarks, declaring that the Republicans would observe the motto, and never would give up the ship. (Applause.)

Mr. Tracey of California moved for a committee of one from each State and Territory on resolutions, and that the Illinois resolutions bo referred to said committee.

Adopted without debate, and the following committee was appointed:—Maine, George Talbot; Massachusetts, George S. Boutwell; New Hampshire, Amos Tuck; Rhode Island, B. T. Eames; Vermont, E. M. Briggs; Connecticut, S. W. Kellogg; New York, Henry R. Selden; New Jersey, Thomas S. Dudley; Pennsylvania, Wm. Jessup; Ohio, J. H. Barrett; Indiana, Wm. T. Otts; Illinois, Gustavus Koeler; Wisconsin, Carl Schurz; Iowa, John A. Kosow; Minnesota, Stephen Miller; Delaware, N. D. Smithers; Maryland, T. D. Blair; Virginia, Alfred Caldwell; Kentucky, Geo. T. Blakeley; Michigan, Austin Blair; Missouri, Charles M. Bemais; California, T. P. Leary; Texas, J. Strauss; District of Columbia, G. A. Hall; Nebraska, S. Bradlock; Kansas, J. T. Hatterscherott; Oregon, Horace Greeley.

When the name of Horace Greeley of Oregon was announced, it was received with loud cheers and laughter.

Mr. Rollins of New Hampshire, moved that each delegation report the name of one person to constitute a member of the Republican National Committee for the ensuing year, which was carried.

The Convention then adjourned till 10 o'clock A. M. tomorrow.

COL. FREMONT'S NAME WITHDRAWN.

The letter of Colonel Fremont to Judge Staples of California, positively declining to have his name presented to the Convention, is published today.

THE GERMAN REPUBLICANS.

In the German Convention today resolutions were almost unanimously adopted to support only true Republican candidates, and to leavo the party if any compromise was made with, or a know-nothing should be nominated. The Missouri delegates tried to defend their position as supporters of Bates, but met with no encouragement. Among the most earnest opponents of Bates were Dr. A. Douaï of Boston, and Carl Schurz of Wisconsin. The resolutions of the Convention were ordered to be printed and distributed among the members of the National Convention.

The Chicago Convention.

The N. Y. *Tribune* says:

As yet, there is no clear indication of a preference so decided as to render the nomination of any of the candidates certain. Our correspondent says that it is estimated that Gov. Seward will lead with some eighty five votes on the first ballot, to sixty for Judge Bates, and that Mr. Chase will hold the third place on the list. The party of Mr. Seward in the Convention is led by Mr. Thurlow Weed, and that of Judge Bates by the elder Mr. Blair. Mr. Cameron is supported by the Pennsylvanian delegation alone; and Judge M'Lean seems to have no considerable number of earnest advocates among the members of that Convention.

The Washington correspondent of the same paper says:

If a radical candidate be insisted upon at Chicago, a large defection may be expected in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, among the conservative portion of the Opposition. This purpose is seriously entertained, and in such a contingency the Bell ticket will assume much more importance than Fillmore's did in 1856. This information is derived from unquestionable source, and will be represented at Chicago so as to preclude all doubt.

The Chicago correspondent writing on Saturday says:

Gov. Morgan, Messrs. Weed, Ashmun of Mass., and Lane of Indiana, are among the arrivals to-night. Mr. Blair, senior, is here, and leads the Bates interest, which is hopeful and earnest. They count up over sixty votes on the first ballot, from nine or ten States.

The Seward leaders are also very confident and profess the utmost faith, but it is impossible to see how his nomination can be carried. The Indiana delegation are vehement against him, and say that his nomination will carry 20,000 to 40,000 votes over to Mr. Bell. Illinois is only a little less decided against Mr. Seward. New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota are the only States that are united and earnest for him.

Iowa is discordant and uncertain. New England is undeveloped, Connecticut only being unanimous against Mr. Seward. The rest of New England will mostly be disposed to go for him, but cannot against the earnest protest of doubtful States. The highest calculation for Mr. Seward on the first ballot is 85 votes.

Paw Paw.

In office during the day. Quite many of the inhabitants having started for Chicago to attend the Republican Convention during the afternoon I made up my mind that I would go too. At 11 P.M. Charly Sherman & I started in the stage. Left Lawton about 1. There was an immense train crowded full. I managed to get a seat and about half past 5 we arrived at Chicago

Chicago

Immediately after arriving I tried to get a bed and room for the next three days, but it was an impossibility the city being full and overflowing. I then called on Sam & Ted Goodwin. Then to Mr. Rich's office where met Pantlind who came yesterday. P. & I went to the "Wigwam" where managed to squeeze in, but came out immediately as the crowd was oppressive. Telegraphed Willy at Litchfield to know whether he did be there for a week. Reed answer "Yes". Pantlind & I returned to Mr. Rich's office where found Mrs R. Mrs P & Miss Jenny Dickeman. We then returned to the Wigwam and effected an entrance into the Ladies gallery, having some with us. It was very hot and crowded and as some not very interesting preliminary proceedings were going on we did not stay long. All went to Anderson's to dinner. I spent the rest of the afternoon in trying up a boarding place. After much trouble I found one at 288 State St. Took tea at Tremont Exchange. In evening Pantlind and I went to hear Hooley & Campbell's Minstrels at Crosby's Hall

O. E. Risvold & Sons
9321 Bloomington Freeway
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55420

MAY
17 Thursday

Chicago

Find my new boarding place not an unpleasant one, where, strange to say, have a bed and room all to myself. The city now is jammed full with strangers. In morning met Pantlind at Rick's office. With him went to the cricket grounds where the Cincinnati & Chicago Clubs were playing a match. Did not stay long. Afterwards visited the new gymnasium which is the finest I ever saw. Dined at the Tremont Exchange. In afternoon called on Miss Fanny Woodworth, who had a long talk over last summer in Detroit. Took tea (after declining Miss Fanny's invitation) at the City Hotel, where met Pantlind, Mrs. P & Miss Jenny Dickman. We afterwards went to Mr. Dickan's Theatre where "Our American Cousin" was played. It was not good. Afterwards caught in a rain storm.

MAY
18 Friday

Chicago

This being the nominating day (probably) at 8½ I went to the "Wigwam" but could not get within 20 feet of the door, the crowd already assembling. We stood there for over an hour terribly squeezed before the doors were opened. I never was in such a close crowd. Was lifted off my feet & carried in. In two minutes the wigwam was full, about 12000 having squeezed in. At 10 the delegates began to ballot for President of the United States. Abram Lincoln was nominated on the third ballot. I never heard such cheering as when his name or that of Seward was proposed. It was perfectly deafening. I shouted myself hoarse for the latter. Could not help feeling that frog in my throat when he was defeated. Never saw so excited a crowd. They broke up about 1. immediately after the nomination. (See preceding page)

After dining at the Tremont Exchange met Bill Stevenson, who drove me around the city after his fast horse. During the evening I was in different parts of the town, seeing the torchlight processions, barrel burnings, listening to political speeches &c. Never laughed more than at some of the speeches at the Tremont. The "Wide Awakes" were all out. The city was absolutely wild with excitement. Went to bed about 12. completely tired out.

THE SCENE IN THE WIGWAM.

A Graphic Description.

[Correspondence of the Cincinnati Commercial.]

When the candidates were put in nomination, the only names that produced "tremendous applause" were those of Seward and Lincoln.

Everybody felt that the fight was between them, and yielded accordingly. Mr. Seward was first nominated, and the applause was enthusiastic. The next nomination was that in behalf of Mr. Lincoln, and the response was prodigious, rising and raging far beyond the Seward shriek. Presently, Caleb B. Smith seconded the nomination of Lincoln, and the response was absolutely terrific. It now became the Seward men to make another effort, and Blair, of Michigan, seconded his nomination, and,

> At once there rose so wild a yell,
> Within that dark and narrow dell,
> As all the fiends from heaven that fell
> Had pealed the battlecry of hell.

The effect was startling. Hundreds of persons stopped their ears in pain. The shouting was absolutely frantic, shrill and wild. No panthers or panthers ever struck a higher note or gave a scream more infernal intensity. From the stage over the vast amphitheatre nothing was to be seen below but a sea of hats—a black, mighty swarm of things with the velocity of hornets over a nest of human heads, most of the mouths of which as appeared were open. Above, all around the galleries, hats and handkerchiefs were flying in the tempest together. The wonder of the thing was that the Seward outside pressure should, so far from New York, be so powerful.

Now, the Abe Lincoln men had to try it again, and Mr. DeJano, of Ohio, on behalf of a portion of the delegation of that State, seconded the nomination of Lincoln, and the uproar that followed was beyond description. Imagine all the hogs ever slaughtered in Cincinnati giving their death squeals together, a score of big steam-whistles going together, (steam at 100 pounds per inch,) and you conceive something of the same nature. I thought the Seward yell could not be surpassed; but the Lincoln boys were clearly ahead, and feeling their victory, as there was a lull in the storm, they took deep breaths all round and gave a concentrated shriek that was positively awful, and accompanied it with stamping that made every plank and pillar in the building quiver.

Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, leaped upon a table, and swinging hat and cane, performed like an acrobat. The presumption is he shrieked with the rest, as his mouth was wide open; but no one will ever be able to testify that he has positive knowledge of the fact that he made a particle of noise. His individual voice, however loud, was lost in the hurricane of Lincoln cheers.

The New York, Michigan and Wisconsin delegations sat together, and were in this tempest very quiet. Many of their faces whitened as the Lincoln *yawp* swelled into a wild hozanna of victory.

The Convention now proceeded to business. The New England States were called first, and it was manifest that Seward had not the strength that had been claimed for him there. Maine gave nearly half her vote for Lincoln. New Hampshire gave seven out of her ten votes for Lincoln. Vermont gave her vote to her Senator, Collamer, which was understoon to be merely complimentary. It appeared however, that her delegation was hostile or indifferent to Seward, otherwise there would have been no complimentary vote for another. Massachusetts was divided. Rhode Island and Connecticut did not give Seward a vote. So much for the caucusing the night before. Mr. Evarts, of New York, rose and gave the vote of that State calmly, but with a swelling tone of pride in his voice—the State of *New York* casts her *seventy votes* for *William H. Seward!*" The seventy votes was a plumper, and there was slight applause, and that rustle and vibration in the audience indicating a sensation. The most significant vote was that of Virginia, which had been expected solid for Seward, and which now gave him but eight, and gave Lincoln fourteen. The New Yorkers looked significantly at each other as this was announced. Then Indiana gave her twenty-six votes for Lincoln. This solid vote was a startler, and the keen little eyes of Henry S. Lane glittered as it was given. He was responsible for it. It was his opinion that the man of all the land to carry the State of Indiana was Judge John McLean. He also thought Bates had eminent qualifications. But when he found that the contest was between Seward and Lincoln, he worked for the latter as if life itself depended upon success. The division of the first vote caused a fall in Seward stock. It was seen that Lincoln, Cameron and Bates, had the strength to defeat Seward; and it was known that the greater part of the Chase vote would go for Lincoln.

The Convention proceeded to a second ballot. Every man was fiercely impatient. The partisans of the various candidates were strung up to such a pitch of excitement as to render them incapable of patience, and the cries of "call the roll" were fairly hissed through their teeth. The first gain for Lincoln was in New Hampshire. The Chase and the Fremont vote from that State were given him. His next gain was the whole vote of Vermont. This was a blighting blow upon the Seward interest. The New Yorkers started as if an Orsini bomb had exploded. And presently the Cameron vote of Pennsylvania was thrown for Lincoln, increasing his strength forty-four votes. The fate of the day was now determined. New York saw "checkmate" next move, and sullenly proceeded with the game, assuming unconsciousness of her inevitable doom. On this ballot Lincoln gained seventy-nine votes! Seward had 184½ votes; Lincoln 181.

It now dawned upon the multitude, that the presumption entertained the night before, that the Seward men would have everything their own way, was a mistake. Even persons unused to making the calculations and considering the combinations attendant upon such scenes, could not fail to observe that while the strength of Seward and Lincoln was almost even at the moment, the reserved votes, by which the contest must be decided, were inclined to the latter. There, for instance was the Bates vote, thirty-five; the McLean vote eight; the Dayton vote ten—all impending for Lincoln—and forty-two Chase votes, the greater part going the same way.

On the third ballot, now taken amid excitement that tested the nerves, the fatal defection from Seward in New England still further appeared—four votes going over from Seward to Lincoln in Massachusetts. The latter received four additional votes from Pennsylvania and fifteen additional votes from Ohio. It was whispered about—"Lincoln's coming man—he nominated this ballot."—When the roll of States and Territories had been called, I had ceased to give attention to any votes but those for Lincoln, and had his vote added up as it was given. The number of votes necessary to a choice were two hundred and thirty-three, and I saw under my pencil as the Lincoln column was completed, the figures 231½—one vote and a half being required to give him the nomination. A hundred pencils had told the same story. The news went over the house wonderfully, and there was a pause. In about ten ticks of a watch, Carter of Ohio was up. He said, "I rise (eh) Mr. Chairman (eh) to announce the change of four votes of Ohio from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln." The deed was done. There was a moment's silence. The nerves of the thousands, which through the hours of suspense had been subjected to terrible tension, relaxed, and as deep breaths of relief were taken, there was a noise in the wigwam like the rush of a great wind, in the van of a storm—and in another breath, the storm was there. There were thousands cheering with the energy of insanity.

A man who had been on the roof, and was engaged in communicating the results of the ballotings to the mighty mass of outsiders, now demanded by gestures at the sky-light over the stage, to know what had happened. One of the Secretaries, with the tally sheet in his hands, shouted, "Fire the salute! Abe Lincoln is nominated!" As the cheering inside the Wigwam subsided, we could hear that outside, where the news of the nomination had just been announced. And the roar, like the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep that was heard, gave a new impulse to the enthusiasm inside. Then the thunder of the salute rose above the din, and the shouting was repeated with such tremendous fury that some discharges of the cannon were absolutely not heard by those on the stage. Puffs of smoke, drifting by the open doors, and the smell of gun-powder, told what was going on.

The moment that half a dozen men who were on their chairs making motions at the President could be heard, they changed the votes of their States to Mr. Lincoln. This was a mere formality and was a cheap way for men to distinguish themselves. The proper and orderly proceeding would have been to announce the vote, and then for a motion to come from New York to make the nomination unanimous. New York was prepared to make this motion, but not out of order. Missouri, Iowa, Kentucky, Minnesota, Virginia, California, Texas, District of Columbia, Kansas, Nebraska, and Oregon, insisted upon casting unanimous votes for Old Abe Lincoln before the vote was declared.

While these votes were being given, the applause continued, and a photograph of Abe Lincoln which had hung in one of the side rooms was brought in, and held up before the surging and screaming masses. The places of the various delegations were indicated by staffs to which were attached the names of the States, printed in large black letters on paste board. As the Lincoln enthusiasm increased, delegates tore these standards of the States from their places and swung them about their heads.

I left the city on the night train on the Fort Wayne and Chicago Road. The train consisted of eleven cars, every seat being full and people standing in the aisles and corners. I never before saw a company of persons so exhausted as they were. The Lincoln men were not able to respond to the cheers which went up along the road for "old Abe." At every station where there was a village, until two o'clock, there were tar barrels burning, drums beating, boys carrying rails; and guns, great and small, banging away. The weary passengers were allowed no rest, but plagued by the thundering jar of cannon, the clamor of drums, the glare of bonfires, and the wild whooping of the boys, who were delighted with the idea of a candidate for the Presidency who thirty years ago had split rails on the Sangamon River—classic stream now and forevermore—and whose neighbors named him "honest."

M. H.

BY TELEGRAPH

TO THE

BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT CHICAGO.

SPECIAL DESPATCH TO THE TRANSCRIPT FROM OUR OWN REPORTER.

MR. SEWARD'S PROSPECTS!

THE PROBABLE VOTE OF NEW ENGLAND!

HONORS TO MASSACHUSETTS MEN!

CHICAGO, FRIDAY MORNING.

The delegates have been busy canvassing all night. Mr. Seward's friends are in better spirits today.

They claim twenty-two votes from Massachusetts, ten from Maine, the whole of Vermont on first ballot, part of Rhode Island and Connecticut delegations.

The New Yorkers boast that Mr. Seward's first vote will reach one hundred and eighty—lacking fifty-four votes for the choice.

The question of the Vice Presidency is now discussed with great interest. Each section of the country is canvassing for its favorite candidate. The result of the presidential nomination will exert controlling influence upon the second office.

A few Americans object to the Platform. They threaten to denounce the naturalization resolution.

The Massachusetts delegation have received numerous invitations to visit various cities at the West. They are specially honored on every hand.

Second Despatch.

At the opening of the Convention this morning the various candidates were put in nomination.

When Mr. Seward's name was announced, the applause was tremendous.

The names of the other candidates were received with less enthusiasm.

New York, 18*th*. Mr. Greeley telegraphed last night to the Tribune, that the opposition to Mr. Seward cannot concentrate on any candidate, and that he will be nominated.

BY TELEGRAPH
TO THE
BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT CHICAGO.

SPECIAL DESPATCH TO THE TRANSCRIPT FROM OUR OWN REPORTER.

PROSPECTS OF THE CANDIDATES!

STRONG OPPOSITION TO SEWARD!

THE PROBABLE FIRST BALLOT!

THE PLATFORM!

VOTE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATION!

ACTION OF NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA!

TIME OF NOMINATION!

CHICAGO, THURSDAY MORNING.

The Presidential prospects remain without substantial alteration since last advices.

Thurlow Weed is very confident of Seward's nomination.

It is predicted that the vote on the first ballot will stand—

For Seward.....80
For Lincoln.....40
Scattering.....113

The New York and Pennsylvania delegations consulted together last night.

David D. Field and Hon. Geo. Opdyke oppose Seward strenuously, while Joshua R. Giddings supports him with equal zeal.

The Philadelphia platform will be substantially reaffirmed, with probably homestead and tariff planks.

The Seward men propose to keep on balloting until a nomination is effected, hoping by this method to prevent the opposition from concentrating their forces against him.

But the political engineers upon the one side and the other seem to be pretty equally matched, and there is small chance for any manœuvring to gain permanent advantages.

It is improbable that the nomination can be made today.

Lincoln apparently leads in the concentration of the opposition to Seward, whose enemies aver that he cannot be nominated.

The friends of Cameron, of Pennsylvania, held a meeting yesterday, and denounced Seward throughout as having but few supporters in that State.

When Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey and Connecticut—the doubtful States—shall unite on a candidate, Massachusetts, and probably the rest of the New England delegations, will doubtless follow suit.

The Massachusetts men took a vote before the meeting of the Convention, with the following result: Seward, 16; Lincoln, 3. The rest of the delegates were absent.

Second Despatch.

CHICAGO, 17th—Afternoon.

The Pennsylvania delegation voted their first choice to be Cameron; second, McLean, and the third Lincoln or Wade.

The crowd in attendance is much larger than yesterday. Immense masses of people throng around the outside of the Wigwam.

In the Convention this morning two reports were made from the Committee on Rules and Orders.

One report recommended three hundred and four votes as necessary to nominate for President, and the other a majority of the Convention.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

Debate on the Admission of the Southern Delegates.

CHICAGO, May 17.

The morning opens with much excitement. The streets are crowded and several processions formed, headed with bands of music.

By invitation of the Michigan delegation the New York delegates and visitors gathered at the Adams House to march together to the Wigwam. The procession was the striking feature of the morning. They marched in sections of four, consisting of the New Yorkers and the Michiganders, numbering between 3000 and 4000, all wearing badges inscribed "New York Republican Association," and "Michigan Republican Association," and with the name of Seward for President. A banner with Seward's likeness was carried at the head. Several bands of music were in the line of procession. It stopped at different points giving and receiving cheers.

The Convention was called to order at 10 o'clock.

Every part of the Wigwam was crowded as densely as yesterday. Owing to the unprecedented number present, considerable time was consumed in obtaining order.

The proceedings opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Patten, of Chicago.

An invitation was extended to the delegates for a trip over the Rock Island Railroad, to Davenport, Iowa. [Table.

A letter was also read asking the President if he could not send some effective speakers to entertain 20,000 Republicans and their wives, outside the building. [Laughter and cheers

R. M. Corwin, of Ohio, from the Committee on the Rules of Order, reported rules for the Convention.

The first—giving the list of State in order—was found to have omitted New York. [Much laughter was excited when New York protested against the omission.]

Among the Rules were the following:—That four votes be cast by Delegates at Large, and two for each Congressional District; that 304 votes be a majority of the whole number of votes; when all the States in the Union are represented, that the above ratio be required to nominate candidates. [Loud cries of No! no! with mingled cheers and hisses]

Mr. James, of New York, desired to say that only seventeen out of twenty-seven States were represented when the Rule required 304 votes was adopted by one majority. He presented, as a minority report, a substitute for said rule, requiring a majority of all the votes cast to nominate. [Cheers and hisses.

Mr. Carter, of O., said this was an important period in the proceedings. He called for the report of the Committee on Credentials and moved the report on the rules lay on the table at present. [Carried.

Mr. Benton, of N. H., from the Committee on Credentials then reported. No contested seats. 24 States represented. Pennsylvania and New Jersey had sent four delegates from each Congressional district, and Iowa eight.

Mr. Davis, of Mass., moved to refer back the State of Texas to the Committee.

Mr. Wilmot moved to refer back also the States of Maryland, Kentucky and Virginia.—This was a representative body, and men who represent no constituencies should not come here with full vote. Such practices would demoralize and break down the party. In Maryland thirty persons had gathered at Baltimore and sent delegates here. There will be no party organization there and would be none until the Republicans had wrested the government from the hands of its present possessors. These delegates represent no Republican constituency and if the precedent is established there will soon be delegates in Republican Conventions from every State in the Union, only sent there to demoralize and break up the party and in favor of some Northern intrigue. One mischievous rule had been adopted when these States were admitted and the other objectionable rule requiring a majority of all the States in the Union to nominate grew out of this. He denied the right of these men, respectable as they were, to pretend to represent Republican constituents. [Loud cheers.

Mr. Ewing, of Pa., deprecated the sentiment of his colleague. [Loud applause, Cries of "That's the talk."] These men from Slave States are more entitled to credit than any others, and we would never consent to disfranchise them. [Cheers and cries of "No! No!"] He was astonished to hear the sentiments expressed by his colleague. These men are bold, earnest Republicans. They represent Republicans there, and if their numbers are small, we hope to make them greater. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. Palmer, of Md., said he stood before this free Convention as a Republican from the State of Maryland. [Cheers, and three cheers for Maryland.] He claimed to be as good a Republican as any of the People's Party of Pennsylvania. He had dared more and risked more than the gentleman from Pennsylvania had ever risked. He had avowed himself a Republican, while the People's Party of Pennsylvania were still afraid to declare themselves thorough Republicans. [Immense applause.] He had faced the mob at Baltimore, and found himself on his return home burned in effigy and hung by the neck by the mob, led on by the aristocracy of office holders.

He claimed that if the party hoped to succeed they must organize throughout the Union. He repelled the accusation that Maryland was the tool of any Northern State. They were unpurchased and unpurchaseable, and they told Pennsylvania to put that in its pipe and smoke it. [Immense cheers and laughter] He cared not if Maryland was turned out of the Convention. [Cries of "No! No! It never shall be!"] They would still go home and run an electoral ticket. He felt, from the applause so kindly bestowed upon him, that he had not appealed in vain to the fair and honorable sentiments of the people. [Three hearty cheers given for Maryland.]

Mr. Blakey, of Ky., was surprised, on his entrance in the Convention, to find a proposition to banish Kentucky from the Convention. He should not have been more surprised had a proposition been made to banish the ashes of Washington from beyond the limits of the Union. That the sacred dust at Ashland should be banished beyond the borders of that State. That Cassius M. Clay should be sent into exile. [Cheers.] Who would dare to banish the free sons of Kentucky, of Maryland, or Texas, or the District of Columbia from this Convention? He was a member of the Republican Convention in 1856—a seat his children should live to be proud of—and then and there, on the part of Kentucky, had risen, and with the memory of the Wilmot Proviso before him, he had cast the vote of Kentucky for Vice Presidency for David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania. [Loud applause and cheers.] Could he ever be forgiven for that act. [Renewed laughter and applause.

Mr. Phillips, of Kansas, said he stood here as a representative from a Territory which would have been a State to-day but for its fidelity to Republicanism. He did not believe any man would desire to banish Kansas from the Convention. [Cheers. Cries for Wilmot.

Mr. Wilmot took the platform. He regretted that he had been misunderstood. He made no proposition to exclude gentlemen from the Convention. He had simply moved to refer back certain States to the Committee, to decide what vote the several States should be entitled to, and in order to enforce the argument he had asked why thirty persons gathered in Baltimore and representing no constituency over the State should be entitled to vote for the State?

Mr. Palmer, of Md., explained that the meeting in Baltimore, though small, was held under a regular call of the Republican organization, and nearly every Congressional district in the State was represented.

Mr. Wilmot said the explanation made would enforce the propriety of his motion. He only desired the Committee should investigate whether in these States there is a regular Republican organization to entitle them to votes here. His only object was to inquire into these facts. If the Committee reported that these States have a regular organization, took regular action and are entitled to votes, he should willingly accept their reports.

It was rumored that the delegates from Texas were not residents there. It might be said that delegates from Oregon were not residents there; but there was a regular and powerful Republican organization there, and the powers had been delegated to non-residents. If Texas had regularly delegated these gentlemen as representatives, all was well; but if they only came here to control the result of the nomination, it was a dangerous and fatal precedent: He asked the friends of the most prominent candidate before the Convention whether they would like States, not generally represented, to be brought in to control the vote against him?

He made no issue as to who dared and suffered most in the Republican cause; but if this is to be the test, Kansas should control this Convention, for she had poured out her blood in the cause. His objection to the representation from these States were not founded upon any supposition that these gentlemen had been purchased by Northern money, but because if the precedent was now established it will be fraught with danger in the future. [Cries of "Question!"]

Mr. Blair, of Maryland, endorsed all that had been said by the gentleman from Pennsylvania. He did not desire that his State should exercise any controlling power here, and was willing that every inquiry into the regularity of the delegates should be made.

Gov. Cleveland, of Conn., was not satisfied with the remarks of Mr. Blair, and regarded this whole movement as pernicious. Maryland is entitled to her full vote here, for without Henry Winter Davis, of that State, the Republicans would have had no opportunity to investigate the frauds of the Democracy. [Cheers.]

The Republican party is not a sectional party, and he prophecied, as he did four years ago, that at the next National Convention, the whole of the Slave States would be represented. [Applause.] The Republicans desired to make no war upon the Slave States; that was an invention of the enemy. He called on the Convention to do no act that looked like sectionalism. He called attention to the call of the National Convention, which he read. The call invited all who desired to overthrow the corrupt Democracy in the States, to act with the Convention. If not most arrant knaves and hypocrites we should not now deny the right of representation to Slave States. [Loud cheers.] The Territories and District of Columbia were, however, differently situated. They were not included in the call. They could give no voto for the ticket, and he was willing to admit them to the floor, but did not deem it right to give them a vote on the formation of the ticket.

Gov. Reeder, of Pa., said, much unnecessary declamation has been used on this question. No proposition has been made to disfranchise any State here. All the Northern States was, that they should be put on an equality with the Southern States. If the Northern States only represented two or three Congressional Districts, they would not be allowed to cast the whole vote of the State. All that was asked was, that Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky should cast their votes for all the Congressional Districts represented, and no more. No man had felt more, or could sympathize with those who had been cursed by slave power, than himself, but all he asked now was that all the States in the Union should be put on an equal footing here.

Mr. Buckland, of Mich., moved to amend by referring back the papers of Oregon to the Committee.

Mr. McCrillis, of Wis., thought that if the Territories should be treated according to the rules of the Federation, and admitted to seats but not to votes, Kansas should not be included. She is a State now. She is in the Union, or she ought to be, and would be, but for corruption of the State Democracy. He declared Maine would gladly take to her bosom, cold as it ought to be, her warm sisters of the South.—[Cheers.

Mr. Hackleman, of Ind., did not object to the admission of any State but Texas. He desired that that question be investigated, and delegates from Texas should show who sent them there.

Texas said it did not believe the Republicans would stifle the voice of Texas, because she is an infant child. She was at least growing. The Germans were with them, and ere long they would have a powerful party there. He regretted the motion should come from the

gentleman from Pennsylvania, a state that was afraid, even now, to declare herself as a pure Republican organization, and did not dare to stand upon pure Republican principles alone. [Cheers and hisses from Pennsylvania.] Such action was contemptible and dastardly.

Mr. Eggleston, of Ohio, thought the committee should have courage sufficient to say who are and who are not members of the Convention, entitled to vote. If they have not, let them make a definite report, and then the Convention can act upon it. The various motions to recommit were lost by a large vote.

Mr. Lowry moved to recommit the whole report and called a vote by the States. He regarded the report an evasion of duty, for nothing respecting the title of delegates to seats was mentioned.

Mr. Benton, of N. H., said the sub-committee have fully investigated the title of delegates to seats and were satisfied all were regular.

The President decided that under the rules the vote by States could not be called. But for convenience States were called, and the motion to recommit carried. Yeas 275½, nays 152⅞.

The following was the vote: Maine, ayes 3, nays 13; New Hampshire, nays 9, ayes 1; Vermont, ayes 9, nays 1; Massachusetts, ayes 13, nays 9; Rhode Island, ayes 8; Connecticut, ayes 10, nays 2; New York, ayes 1, nays 69; New Jersey, nays 14; Pennsylvania, ayes 53½, nays 1½; Delaware, ayes 1, nays 5; Maryland, ayes 4, nays 6; Virginia, ayes 30; Ohio, ayes 46; Kentucky, ayes 24; Indiana, ayes 26; Michigan, nays 12; Illinois, ayes 22; Wisconsin, nays 10; Minnesota, nays 8; Iowa, ayes 8; Missouri, ayes 4, nays 14; California, ayes 4, nays 3; Oregon, nays 5.

This vote created great interest and excitement. It was not however regarded as a test vote, as the Southern States voted aye because of the delicacy of their position.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled with the largest number of spectators yet present. Every inch of room being filled, every part of the building and platform is further embellished with large framed portraits of eminent patriots and statesmen, and the handsome banners of the Young Men's Republican Union and New York Ward Republican Clubs and Clubs of Chicago. Under the portrait of Broderick draped in mourning appeared the inscription, "They have killed me because I was opposed to the extension of slavery, and to the corrupt administration."

At 3½ o'clock the Convention was called to order by the President, who announced that there were twice the number of honest hearts outside, who had through a Committee requested Gov. Randall, of Wis., to address them on the political questions of the days. (Loud applause.

Mr. Benton, of N. H., from the Committee on Credentials again reported, giving the State of Virginia 23 votes, Kentucky 23, Oregon 5, Maryland 11, Texas 6.

In regard to the organization of Texas, the Committee reported that the delegates were elected at a mass meeting called by a notice in all the papers favorable to Republican principles and were entitled to their seats.

The report was adopted amidst applause. The vote in these States is cut down below the full double Electoral vote.

The report of the committee on business and rules was then taken up.

The second rule giving delegates at large four votes, and each Congressional representation two votes, except as modified by the Committee on Credentials, amended by providing that no more votes shall be cast than there are delegates present. Adopted.

On the fourth rule being read, which provides that 304 votes, being a majority of the whole double electoral vote, shall be necessary to nominate candidates,—the minority report, to nominate by a majority of votes cast, was moved as an amendment.

Mr. Kelly, of Pa., said this subject was one of the most important that could arise. It had been carefully considered by the Committee, as it had been felt that under the call this was a National Convention of the Republican Party. As such he deemed it proper that the nominee should receive a majority vote of the Electoral College. The call invited not only the people of the Northern States or border Slave States, but the people of the United States.

If any State be absent, whether by design or accident, the Convention does not cast her vote for her, but says she shall have a negative voice in the selection of candidates. She is here in spirit and her rights are to be respected.—These were the main considerations that influenced the committee. But there were considerations of much weight which confirmed their action. Kansas, Nebraska, and District of Columbia were to be admitted as though they were States with the electoral votes behind them. The Committee knew that there were some gentlemen here from States honored wherever courage is honored, but where there are but few Republicans. They were men who would go forth with their lives in their hands and unite with others in restoring the government to the policy of our father. But they did not come with a party and organization at their backs.

When the Committee considered that these delegates would be admitted with full electoral votes he feared that unless this rule was adopted the nominees of the party might be such as would not have a majority of the votes representing States actually having Republican electoral votes to offer to the party. These were motives which influenced the Committee's action.

Judge James, of N. Y., on the part of the minority: The rule had already been adopted by the Convention, which gave 466 votes as the full vote of the Convention. The majority report was, therefore, substantially a two-third vote 304 being only seven votes short of two-thirds. This was the rule of Democratic Conventions, and had been suggested in order to carry out the Democratic policy of allowing the minority to rule the majority. (Great applause.) If the majority report, giving negative votes to absent Southern States, should be adopted, the same policy would be imitated here and to this he was opposed. (Loud applause.

W. B. Mann, of Pa., said he came from a State where the majority rules. He knew no reason why it should be otherwise here. If the majority rule should prevail, it would seem like a secret blow at a candidate who had done no wrong. (Loud and prolonged applause.) This act neither he nor any of the gallant hearts from Pennsylvania around him will allow. (Cheers, loud cries of "question! question!" and the vote by States demanded.

When Pennsylvania was called she asked for time.

Mr. Goodrich, of Minn., asked that representatives of the People's Party of Pennsylvania, be excused from voting. [Cries of "order," and hisses.

Mr. Reader, of Pa., said the delegates from Pennsylvania had found it necessary to retire to consult. He understood some persons to say that the People's Party of his State had no right to vote. He desired to know the name of that gentleman. [Cheers and cries of "order!"

Mr. Goodrich said he had not questioned the right of the People's Party to vote. But hearing the name of the State called for the fourth time and the delegates being unable to vote on their own proposition, he had asked that they be excused from voting, out of feelings of humanity.

The vote was then announced and the minority rule reported by Judge James, requiring a majority of the votes cast only to nominate, was adopted, 331 ayes, 131 nays. [Loud and prolonged applause.

The rules as amended, were then adopted.

Wentworth on the Chicago Convention

The Chicago *Democrat* speaking of the chanees of candidates says:

We do not look upon the Bates or McLean movement as amounting to enough to defeat Gov. Seward. Appearances indicate that if Gov. Seward is defeated at all, it will be done by what is known as the Washington movement in favor of B. F. Wade, now United States Senator from Ohio, who is a strong Abolitionist of the Giddings School, but not so obnoxious to the Know Nothings as Gov. Seward.

It is not proposed to bring forward Mr. Wade until the Ohio delegation are willing to give up Gov. Chase. And it is understood that he is already surrendered by some of them. The McLean men and Bates men will then go for him, and it is supposed that the Cameron men also will then fall in. It is supposed that the New England delegation will be about equally divided between Seward and Wade.

Correspondence of the Atlas & Argus.

The Chicago Convention.

CHICAGO, May 18, 1860.

The Republican Convention will probably nominate and finish up its business as early as to-morrow—some hope to-day.

Gov. Morgan, of N. Y., in calling the Convention to order, indulged in a speech—the temporary chairman on taking his seat indulged in another lengthy speech, and the permanent chairman on taking his seat, let off another speech—all about the negro and in attacks upon the South. There is scarcely a Republican here, that is not full of speeches, and not one of them has a kind word for the South; they are all denunciations, and much fiercer and more bitter than were those in the British Parliament against the American Colonies in 1774 In fact, the hostility manifested in those days, between the parent Country and her Colonies, was not more intense and unrelenting than that exhibited in these Republican Conventions towards their brethren of the South; less than 100 years ago it was parent against child; now it is brother against brother!

It awakened unpleasant and sorrowful reflections to look around the Convention for the delegates from North Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Virginia, &c., and find those seats vacant—or rather to notice, that *no seats had been provided* for delegates from those States! It is true that a few persons claiming to represent Virginia and Texas were on the floor of the Convention, but it is well known that those delegates do not *represent* the views of one, out of one thousand of the people of those States, and that moreover some of the delegates do not reside, and have not for years resided, in the States they claim to represent. It was an amusing farce to hear Texas respond, just as if that "lone star" would wish to be represented in a Convention composed of men who fought to the bitter end the admission of that State into the Union, and which State, but for the Democratic party, would probably be now a subjugated province of Mexico, and torn by all of the contending factions that now overrun and devastate that unhappy country, Yes, that "lone star" must have wished for its delegates to be in a Convention where sat Preston King, David Wilmot, and Tom Corwin—men who endeavored to keep Texas out of the Union, and who wished to have our soldiers in Mexico welcomed with "bloody hands to hospitable graves."

The second scene in this comedy was the representation in the Convention of Kansas, Nebraska, and the District of Columbia—Territories which have no voice in the selection of a President; the calling over of the delegates from those Territories awakened a broad grin even from the Republicans themselves; it would have been just as appropriate to have Arizona, Pike's Peak, and Nevada represented; but as the Republicans lacked States they took up Territories.

When the States of Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, Florida, &c., &c., were called, and no responses made, the Convention indulged in a series and a succession of hisses that would have done no discredit to the animal that beguiled mother Eve. In fact the whole proceeding seemed to me like the preparation of a grand army to invade a hostile province; it did not seem as if this was but a preliminary movement to elect a President for the *whole* country, but rather to elect a Commander-in-chief for the North who was to lead the attack upon a neighboring province and subdue it. The denunciations heaped upon the South, were not unlike those heaped upon subjugated Hungary by the overbearing and insolent Austrians!

The most absurd part of the performance was in calling this Convention a *National* Convention, as if it could be National. when only *half* of the States are represented! The States where the most heroic achievements were performed in the Revolution were not represented; the voice of the State where the battle of New Orleans was fought and won, was not heard; the voice of the State were rest the bones of the immortal Jackson, was as silent as the grave in that Convention; the State where was born the "Father of his Country" and which contains his home while upon earth and now his tomb, was represented by non-residents! Surely, such a scene was full of anguish to every patriotic heart.

D. E. W.

A Good Suggestion.

Editors Atlas & Argus:

This Fall the American people are to choose an Executive to hold the helm of state and guide the mammoth frigate on her voyage. This is a matter of the most grave importance. It is a subject which comes home freighted with deepest interest to us all. Around it are clustered all the glowing recollections connected with the more early and trying history of our country. It being a subject of such moment, it becomes the duty of all conservative, law-loving citizens, who take an interest in the perpetuation of institutions of government like our own, to do all that lies in their power to promote the election of a candidate who will best carry in practice the spirit and intention of the Constitution.

This desired object can, in a measure, be attained by the banding together of working men, who will aim to promulgate sound Democratic principles among the masses. By establishing associations of this kind in every town, village and hamlet in the State, and throughout the country, much good could be accomplished. Why will not the young Democracy of the city of Albany commence this glorious work and set the ball in motion. Others will soon follow the example thus set, and when the sun shall rise on the morning succeeding the day on which the coming Presidential election shall be held, it will rise upon a country and people who have vidicated the principles of true democracy by the election of the Democratic candidate whoever he may be.

G. S.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

Enthusiasm and Excitement—the First Ballot—Lincoln Nominated.

CHICAGO, May 18.

Full an hour before the Convention assembled this morning at the Wigwam, it was closely packed.

The interest in the proceedings appears to increase as the time for balloting approaches. The crowd outside the building since 9 o'clock, numbered by thousands, remain anxiously awaiting intelligence from the inside.

Arrangements are being made for passing ballots up from the platform to the roof of the building through a sky-light, men being stationed above to convey speedy intelligence to the multitude in the streets.

A large procession was formed of various delegations, to march to the Hall, preceded by bands of music, New York being far the most numerous.

As the delegates entered on the platform, the several distinguished men were greeted by rounds of applause by the audience.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rev. Mr. Green, of the Tabernacle Baptist Church.

Three or four meetings were being held at a distance outside, and during the silence of prayer, the roars and shouts of these meetings were distinctly heard in the Wigwam.

The President, on opening the proceedings, begged the audience to refrain as much as possible from applause, and to preserve a consistent decorum and dignity.

The President announced an invitation for an excursion over the Chicago and Galena railroad; also, a communication from the workingmen of Brooklyn, Williamsburgh and Greenport, in favor of bestowing Government lands on actual settlers, and arresting the further sale of the public lands. [Ordered entered on the records.

The President announced the motion pending to be, to take a ballot for a candidate for President of the United States.

Mr. Blair. of Md., announced that in consequence of the adoption by the Convention of the rule restricting the vote cast to the number of delegates present, that delegates had last evening filled their numbers, and asked leave to present the credentials of five new delegates, to fill the number of that State.

Mr. Sargent, of Cal., inquired whether the five additional votes increase the vote to sixteen, or leave it at eleven, which was the number of votes assigned that State by the report of the Committee on Credentials. If it designed to increase the vote above eleven, he was opposed to it.

The President said he understood the rule adopted in the report of the Committee on Credentials to have restricted Maryland to eleven votes. The additional delegates would not entitle them to a greater number of votes.

Mr. Blair of Maryland, desired to correct the error of the Chair. As he understood it, the number was only limited because the delegates were not present. The delegation has a right to fill vacancies, and have done so, in consequence of the rule adopted, yesterday, by the Convention.

Mr. Armour, of Md., protested against the reception of credentials of new delegates. Eleven representatives only were present from his State. The delegation had met without his knowledge, and without the knowledge at least of one more delegate, and filled up the numbers with men who lived God only knows where. A resident of the State had been refused admission to the delegation, and what object his colleagues had in filling the delegation with non-residents, he did not know. He hoped the motion to admit these delegates would be voted down.

Mr. W. F. Cole, of Md., said Maryland had been declared entitled to eleven votes only, because the necessary number of delegates for sixteen votes were not present. The delegation had power, by action of the State Convention, to fill vacancies. They had now done so, under that authority, and claimed the right to cast the full vote.

The motion to admit extra delegates was lost in the midst of applause from the Convention.

The Convention then voted to proceed to a ballot for a candidate for President of the United States.

Wm. M. Evarts, of N. Y., did not rise for the purpose of making a speech, but only to ask if at this time it was in order to put candidates in nomination.

The President: The Chair considers it in order to name candidates, without debate.

A delegate from Pennsylvania drew attention to the fact that delegates' seats were occupied by outsiders.

A Voice: "The same here with Ohio."

The President: This affords an opportunity to the Chair to read to the Convention a communication just received from the doorkeepers.

The communication stated that Delegates, as soon as they got into the Hall, passed their tickets out to friends. The officers, therefore, found it impossible to prevent the admission of outsiders; the fault rested with delegates.

The President suggested the only method to pursue would be, each delegate claim his seat with vigor.

After some delay, occasioned by clearing the platform and distributing ballots, the Convention proceeded to ballot.

Mr. Wm. M. Evarts, of New York: I beg leave to offer, as the name of a candidate before this Convention, for nomination for President of the United States, William H. Seward. [Loud and long continued applause.]

Mr. Judd, of Illinois: Mr. President—I beg leave to offer, as a candidate before this Convention for nomination for the Presidency, the name of Abram Lincoln, of Illinois.

Applause from the crowded audience here became perfectly deafening, the shouts swelling into a perfect roar, and being continued several minutes, the wildest excitement prevailing.—At the close of the applause some hisses were heard, but the pressure appeared great for Lincoln.

Mr. Dudley, of N. J., presented the name of Wm. L. Dayton. [Light applause.

Gov. Reeder, of Pa.: The State of Pennsylvania desires to present, as her candidate, the name of Simeon Cameron, of Pennsylvania.—Applause.

Mr. Carter, of Ohio, put forward the name of Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. [Loud applause.

Mr. Smith, of Ind.: I am instructed by the State of Indiana to second the nomination of Abram Lincoln. [Another outburst of enthusiastic applause in the body of the hall, mingled with some hisses.]

Francis P. Blair, of Mo., nominated Edward Bates, of Mo. [Applause.

Mr. Blair, of Mich.: On the part of Michigan, I desire to say that the Republicans of that State second the nomination of William H. Seward, of N. Y. [Tremendous applause, followed by thousands of those present rising, waving their hats and handkerchiefs, and swelling the applause to a roar, which was continued for several minutes, followed by some hisses.]

The friends of Seward evidently rallied, determined not to be outdone with applause by the Lincoln men.

On this second trial of lungs it was evident the crowd were more divided than at first appeared, although the Lincoln men had apparently the majority.

Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, nominated John McLean, of Ohio. [Applause.

Mr. Shurz, of Wis., on the part of his State seconded the nomination of William H. Seward.

The scene of tumultuous excitement was again renewed.

Mr. North, of Minnesota, also seconded on the part of that State, the nomination of Seward. [Tremendous applause.

Mr. Wilder, of Kansas: The delegates and people of Kansas second the nomination. [Renewed cheers.

Mr. Delano, of Ohio: On the part of the people of Ohio, I desire to second the nomination of the man who can split rails and maul Democrats—Abram Lincoln. [Rounds of applause by the Lincoln men.

A delegate from Iowa also seconded the nomination of Lincoln on the part of that State, amidst renewed excitement and applause.

A Voice: "Abe Lincoln has it, by the sound now. Let us ballot." [Cheers and hisses.]

Judge Logan, of Ill.: Mr. President, in order or out of order, I propose that this Convention and audience will give three cheers for the man who is evidently the choice of this Convention.

This created the greatest possible excitement.

After some further confusion the calling of the roll commenced.

The applause at several announcements was so great that it was with difficulty checked.

When Maryland was called, the chairman of the delegation cast the vote of that State for Bates. Two delegates claiming a right to individual votes, after some discussion, the Convention rejected the vote of the chairman, and received the votes of delegates separately.

The first ballot resulted as follows:—

SEWARD—Maine 10, New Hampshire 1, Massachusetts 21, New York 70, Pennsylvania 1½, Maryland 3, Virginia 8, Kentucy 5, Michigan 12, Texas 4, Wisconsin 10, Iowa 2, California 8, Minnesota 8, Kansas 8, Nebraska 2, District of Columbia 2. Total 173½.

LINCOLN—Maine 6, New Hampshire 7, Massachusetts 4, Connecticut 2, Pennsylvania 4, Virginia 14, Kentucky 6, Ohio 8, Indiana 26, Illinois 22, Iowa 2, Nebraska 1. Total 102.

BATES—Rhode Island 1, Connecticut 7, Maryland 9, Delaware 6, Missouri 18, Texas 2, Iowa 1, Oregon 5. Total 48.

CAMERON—Pennsylvania 47½, Iowa 1, Virginia 1, Nebraska 1. Total 50½.

MCLEAN—Rhode Island 5, Pennsylvania 1, Kentucky 1, Ohio 4, Iowa 1. Total 12.

CHASE—New Hampshire 1, Rhode Island 1, Connecticut 2, Kentucky 8, Ohio 34, Iowa 1, Nebraska 2. Total 49.

WADE—Conn. 1, Kentucky 2. Total 3.

DAYTON—New Jersey 14.

READ—Rhode Island 1.

FREMONT—New Hampshire 1.

COLLAMER—Vermont 10.

Sumner—Kentucky 1.

Whole number of votes..... 465

Necessary to choice..... 233

The second ballot was taken. Cameron was withdrawn:

LINCOLN—New Hampshire 9, Vermont 10, Rhode Island 3, Connecticut 8, Delaware 6, Kentucky 9, Ohio 14, Iowa 5. Whole vote for Lincoln, 181.

SEWARD—Massachusetts 22, New Jersey 4, Pennsylvania 2½, Kentcky 7, Texas 6, Nebraska 3. Whole vote for Seward, 184½.

Bates received 35 votes; McLean 8, Chase 42½, Cameron 2, Dayton 10, C. M. Clay 2.

No choice.

The third ballot was taken amidst great excitement. Cries for "Ballot—ballot."

Intense feeling existed during the ballot, each vote being waited for in breathless silence and expectancy.

Massachusetts gave Lincoln 8, Rhode Island 5, New Jersey 8, Pennsylvania 52 [applause], Oregon 4. This gave Lincoln 231½, or within 1½ of a nomination.

Mr. Andrews, of Mass., then rose and corrected Massachusetts, by changing four votes and giving them to Lincoln, nominating him by two and a half majority.

The Convention immediately became wild with excitement. A large portion of the those who had kept tally, at once said, the struggle was decided, and half of the Convention rose, cheering, shouting and waiving their hats.

The audience took up the cheers, and the confusion became deafening. State after State rose striving to change their votes to the winning candidate, but the noise and confusion rendered it impossible for the delegates to make themselves audible.

Mr. McCrillis, of Me., making himself heard, said the young giant of the West is now of age. Maine cast for him her 16 votes.

Andrews, of Mass., changed the vote of that State, giving 18 to Lincoln and 8 to Seward.

Intelligence of the nomination was now conveyed to men on the roof of the building who immediately made the outside multitude aware of the result. The first roar of the cannon soon mingled itself with the cheers of the people, and at the same moment a man appeared in the hall bringing a large painting of Lincoln.

The scene at this time beggars description. 11,000 people inside, and 20,000 or 30,000 outside were yelling and shouting at once. Two cannon sent forth roar after roar in rapid succession. The delegates tore up sticks and boards bearing the names of several States and waived them aloft over the heads of the vast multitude before the platform, and handkerchiefs were waived; and while the scene was one of the

wildest enthusiasm, William M. Evarts, of N. Y., having obtained hearing said: Mr. Chairman, can New York have the silence of the Convention. [Cries Yes! Yes!] I ask if the vote has yet been announced. [Cries of "not yet!"] Then, sir, I wait to be in order.

Mr. Brown, of Mo., desired to change 18 votes of Missouri for the gallant son of the West, Abraham Lincoln.

Iowa, Connecticut, Kentucky and Minnesota also changed their votes.

The result on the 3d ballot was then announced. Whole number of votes cast were 466; necessary to a choice 234. Abraham Lincoln received 354, and was declared duly nominated.

States still voting for Seward were—Mass. 8; New York 70; New Jersey 5; Penn. ½; Md. 2; Mich. 12; Wisconsin 10; California 3. Total 110½.

First ballot for Vice President, Hannibal Hamlin, of Me., 194; John Hickman, of Pa., 58; N. P. Banks, of Mass., 38½; C. M. Clay, 101; Gov. Reeder, of Pa., 51; Henry Winter Davis, 8; Houston, 6; Dayton, 3; Read, of Pa., 1.—No choice.

Second Ballot—Hannibal Hamlin was nominated for Vice President.

RNING, MAY 18, 1860.

SECOND EDITION.

LATEST NEWS

Midnight Dispatches.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

Continued from Second Page.

Judge Jessup, of Pa., from the Committee on resolutions reported the following:

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican Electors of the United States in Convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country unite in the following declaration:

First—That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

Second, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

Third—That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad and we hold in abhorance all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source it may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members of Congress, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates, and we denounce those threats of disunion in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people severely to rebuke and forever silence.

Fourth—That the maintenance, inviolate, of the rights of the States and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the greatest of crimes.

Fifth—That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subservieuey to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evident in its desperate exertions for the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas, in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons, in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the federal courts of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusting it by a confiding people.

Sixth.—That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government. That a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensible to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favor to partizans. While the recent startling development of frauds and corruptions at the federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imparitively demanded.

Seventh.—That the new dogma that the Constitution of its force carries slavery into any or all the Territories of the United States is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous expositions and with legislative and judicial precedent, is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

Eighth.—The normal condition of all the Territory of the U. S. is that of freedom; that as our revolutionary fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our National Territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. It becomes our duty by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it, and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature or of an individual, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

Ninth—That we brand the recent re-opening of the African slave trade under the cover of our National flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, a burning shame to our country, and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

Tenth.—That in the recent vetoes by their Federal Executive of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in these Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principles of non-intervention and popular sovereignty embraced in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

Eleventh.—That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the House of Representatives.

Twelfth.—That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government, by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country, and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Thirteenth.—That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers, or supplients for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House. That the National Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abriged or impaired, and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home or abroad. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character required for the accommodation and security of any existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Sixteenth—That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and that as preliminary thereto a daily Overland Mail should be promptly established.

Seventeenth—Finally having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however, differing on other questions who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

When the resolutions were read, several elicited warm applause.

The resolution in favor of a protective tariff was received with unbounded enthusiasm by the Pennsylvanians and a large crowd of outsiders. Whole delegations and spectators rising and giving round after round of deafening cheers

Mr. Carter, of O., was confident that all approved the resolutions and therefore moved the previous question.

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, asked his colleague to withdraw his call for the previous question in order to enable him to offer an amendment to the platform.

Mr. Carter refused to withdraw.

After some further discussion the convention refused to order the previous question by 155 to 301.

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, moved to add to the first resolution the following: "That we solemnly reassert the selfevident truths that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty

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[*Continued from Second Page.*]

CHICAGO, May 18.

Dayton received one vote from New Jersey; McLean one-half vote from Pennsylvania.

The result was received with renewed applause When silence was restored, Wm. M. Evarts came forward and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the National Convention—The State of New York, by a full delegation, with complete unanimity in purpose at home, came to this Convention and presented its choice, one of its citizens, who had served the State from boyhood up, and labored for it and loved it. We came here a great State with, as we thought, a great statesman; and our love of the great Republic, from which we are delegates—the greatest Republic of the American Union—and our love of the great Republican party of the Union, and our love of our statesman and candidate made us think we done our duty to the country and the whole country, in expressing our preference and love for him. [Applause.]

Gentlemen—It was from Gov. Seward that most of us learned to love Republican principles and the Republican party His fidelity to the country, the Constitution and the laws, his fidelity to the party and the principle that majorities govern, his interest in the advancement of our party to its victory, that our country may rise to its glory. induces me to declare that I speak his sentiments, as I do the united opinion of our delegation, when I move you, Sir, as I do now, that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, as the Republican candidate for the suffrages of the whole country for the office of Chief Magistrate of the American Union, be made unanimous. [Applause. Three cheers for New York.

The portrait of Mr. Lincoln, of life size, was here exhibited from the platform, amidst renewed cheers.

Andrews, of Mass., on the part of the delegation from that State, seconded the motion of the gentleman of New York, that the nomination be made unanimous. After declaring the devotion of Massachusetts to the principles of Freedom and Equality, he extolled Gov. Seward as a statesman and patriot, and pledged the State to roll up over 100,000 majority, and give the 18 electoral votes to the candidates

Eloquent speeches, endorsing the nominee, were also made by Carl Schurz, Blair, of Mo., and Browning, of Ill., all of which breathed a spirit of confidence and enthusiasm. At the close, three hearty cheers were given for New York, and the nomination of Lincoln made unanimous, with loud cheers for Lincoln.

The Convention then adjourned till 5 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled at 5 o'clock.

A large banner was brought on the platform by Pennsylvania, bearing the inscription "Pennsylvania good for 20,000 majority for the People's candidate for President, Abe. Lincoln," was received with loud applause. Order was restored at 5¼ o'clock.

When the President announced the business before the Convention to be the ballot for Vice President,

Mr. Wilder, of Kansas, named John Hickman, of Pa.

Mr. Lewis, of Pa., seconded the nomination. [Applause.]

Mr. Carter, of Ohio, named Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine.

Mr. Boutwell, of Mass., nominated N. P. Banks, of Mass.

Mr. Smith, of Ind., named Cassius M. Clay.

Mr. Lowry, of Pa., named Gov. Reeder.

A ballot was then taken, with the following result:

Hamlin—Maine 16; New Hampshire 10; Vermont 10; Massachusetts 1; Rhode Island 8; Connecticut 5; New York 35; New Jersey 6; Pennsylvania 11; Maryland 8; Delaware 2; Ohio 46; Indiana 8; Michigan 8; Illinois 2; Wisconsin 5; Iowa 6; Minnesota 5; Oregon 11. Total 194.

Clay—Connecticut 3; New York 9; New Jersey 1; Pennsylvania 4½; Maryland 2; Delaware [illegible]; Virginia 23; Kentucky 23; Indiana 18; [illegible] Illinois 23; Wisconsin 5; Minnesota [illegible]; District of Columbia 2. Total [illegible]

Hickman—Massachusetts 1; Connecticut [illegible]; New York 14; Pennsylvania [illegible]; Maryland 4; [illegible] Illinois 2; California [illegible]; Oregon 3; Kansas 6; Nebraska [illegible]. Total [illegible]

Gov. Reeder—Massachusetts 1; New York 2; New Jersey 7; Pennsylvania 24; Illinois 16; Iowa 1. Total 1.

Banks—Massachusetts 20; Connecticut 1; New York 4; Pennsylvania 2¼; Missouri 9; Iowa 1; Oregon 1. Total 28¼.

Henry Winter Davis—New York 8.

Sam. Houston—Texas 6.

Wm. L. Dayton—3.

Reed—New York 1.

Total number of votes 461. Necessary to a choice 232.

The second ballot was then taken.

Massachusetts withdrew the name of Banks, and cast 26 votes for Hamlin.

Pennsylvania withdrew the name of Gov. Reeder, and cast 54 votes for Hamlin.

New York cast 70 votes for Hamlin.

The result of the vote was announced as follows:

Hamlin 367, Clay 86, Hickman 13.

The result was received with tumultuous applause.

When order was restored, Mr. Blakely, of Ky., said:

Mr. Chairman—On behalf of that gallant son of freedom, Cassius M. Clay, and friends, I move the nomination be made unanimous; and in retiring from the Convention at the close of the proceedings, allow me to tender to you, on the part of the friends of Mr. Clay, our thanks for the liberal support he received. In presenting his name to you, we presented the name of one who rolls the end of freedom under his tongue, while on his lips sweet liberty loves to linger. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Smith, of Ind., seconded the motion and made an eloquent speech, in support of the nomination, and in eulogy of William H. Seward.

Mr. McCrillis, of Me., on the part of the people of Maine, expressed thanks for the honor done the State, by the nomination, and declared that Maine would cast her vote for Lincoln, Hamlin, Union and Victory. [Loud cheers.]

Amos Tuck, of N. H., moved that the President of the Convention and chairmen of the several delegations be a committee to inform Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Hamlin of their nomination. Adopted.

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, moved the following:

Resolved, That we deeply sympathise with those men who have been driven, some from their native States, and others from the States of their adoption, and were now exiled from their homes on account of their opinions; and we hold the Democratic party responsible for the gross violations of that clause of the Constitution which declares that citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States.—Adoptee.

Mr. Lane, of Ind., took the floor and made an eloquent speech in favor of the whole ticket, and pledged Indiana for 10,000 majority, and his honor for the redemption of the pledge.

Cries were here made for Greeley, which was met by applause and hisses.

Mr. Goodrich, of Minn., announced that a triumphal procession would parade the streets to-night, and march to the Wigwam, where a grand Ratification would be held. [Loud cheers.] He moved that thanks be returned to the ladies and gentlemen of Chicago for the liberality displayed in the building and decoration of the Wigwam. Carried unanimously.

The Convention accepted an invitation of the Rock Island and Chicago and Galena Railroads to excursion rides on their roads.

Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, moved the following:

Resolved, That the Republican National Committee appointed by this Convention be, and they are hereby instructed to prescribe uniform rules that shall operate equally in all the States and Territories whereby, in future, the wishes and preferences of the electors in the Republican organization in the choice of candidates for President and Vice President, may be fully and fairly ascertained; and that the basis of nominating vote be fixed, as may be, in proportion to the number of Republican electors found to reside at the last general State election preceding said nomination, in each Congressional district throughout the Union.

After some skirmishing, the resolution was laid on the table.

Mr. Washburn, of Vt, moved that the thanks of the Convention be returned to the President for his ability and courtesy in the chair. Carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was also passed to other officers of the Convention, especially to the secretaries.

The following was announced as the National Committee for the ensuing four years, Pennsylvania alone being unfilled:

Maine, C. J. Gilman; New Hampshire, G. G. Foog; Vermont, L. Brainard; Massachusetts, J. Z. Goodrich; Rhode Island, Thos. G. Turner; Connecticut, Gideon Wells; New York, Edwin D. Morgan; New Jersey, Doning Duer; Maryland, James F. Wagner; Delaware, N. B. Smithers; Virginia, Alfred Caldwell; Kentucky, C. M. Clay; Ohio, Thos. Spooner; Indiana, S. Meredith; Missouri, Asa S. Jones; Michigan, Austin Blair; Illinois, N. B. Judd; Texas, D. Henderson; Wisconsin, Carl Schurz; Iowa, A. J. Stevens; California, D. G. Cushman; Minnesota, John McKusick; Oregon, W. C. Johnson; Kansas, Wm. A. Phillips; Nebraska, O. Irish; District of Columbia, Joseph Gerdardt.

Mr. Ashlam then, in brief remarks, returned thanks to the Convention for the kind assistance extended to him in the discharge of the duties of the Chair, and congratulated them on the gratifying and auspicious result of their labors. He endorsed the character and ability of both nominees, with whom he had enjoyed long association in public life, and expressed the conviction that victory must crown the efforts of the party in November.

The Convention then adjourned *sine die* with nine hearty cheers for the ticket.

5/19/4

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

How Mr. Seward was Defeated.

[Correspondence of the Atlas & Argus.]

CHICAGO, May 21, 1860.

The result so suddenly and unexpectedly reached by the Republican Convention yesterday, will spread a panic through every State in which an organization of the party exists. To say that Republicans generally will be surprised at the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, would not adequately describe the popular feeling. The overthrow of Mr. Seward by his Illinois competitor is not merely the accidental defeat of a strong candidate by a weak candidate; it is the culmination of a revolution in the party, and will be received by the public much as would be the intelligence that the crown of Louis Napoleon had been suddenly transferred to the head of the Count of Paris. Such an event was never for a moment seriously contemplated even in this city up to the momont of balloting; for malignant as was the personal attack made upon the New York Senator by his enemies from his own State, and vigorous as was the oppositiou of Pennsylvania and New Jersey to his nomination, there was no evidence up to Friday morning of any possible concentration of the forces of his opponents, whilst it was regarded as certain that as soon as a break from any of the other candidates took place, the greater part of New England, Ohio, and a large portion of Illinois would enroll themselves upon Mr. Seward's side. Thus, up to the hour of balloting, his friends remained quiet and confident, while his enemies displayed a nervous restlessness which evinced that they did not anticipate a successful result. As the report of the proceedings will already have reached you, showing the combinations by which the nomination was effected and describing the scenes by which it was accompanied, it only remains for me to add a few general remarks on events at present behind the curtain, to put you in full possession of the circumstances attending this remarkable chapter in the history of the Republican party.

The Chicago Convention has been probably the largest ever held. The number of persons gathered in the city from other localities, could not have been less than from thirty to forty thousaud. The cheap excursion tickets issued by all the lines of railroad, at less than half the usual fare, together with the knowledge that none of the hotels or boarding houses in the city would increase their customary rates, and that ample accommodation could bo supplied to all, induced many thousands of outsiders to avail themselves of so favorable an opportunity to visit the West; while the additional interest imparted to the nomination by the natural, though idle hope, that the apparent distractions in the Democratic party might give a fair chance of success to the candidates, was sufficiently strong to draw together an unusual number of political adventurers. The Convention was not a deliberative body; it was rather a mass meeting of the tag rag and bobtail of all the factions opposed to the Democratic party—a gathering of all the hungry "outs" who, under the name of Republicans, Know Nothings, Choctaws, People's Parties, or Opposition, are eager for a taste at the spoils.

It became evident, long before reaching Chicago, that the fiat had gone forth that Mr. Seward was to be the nomince of the convention. Preparations had been made on an extensive scale throughout the State of New York for the celebration of an event which was looked upon as a certainty, and one of the Editors of the Albany *Evening Journal* had spent some weeks in the West, arranging in Michigan, Wisconsin and other States, for such demonstrations along the routes of the various delegations, as would send them into Chicago with the impression that Seward alone was the choice of the prairies. The expectant candidate himself went up to Auburn on the Friday preceding the convention week, for the avowed purpose of avoiding the noisy and exciting congratulations of his friends at Washington, but in reality to assist in the dramatic programme which had been arranged for the return of the delegates. Indeed, his speech to the delegation is said to have been left by him at the office of the Albany *Evening Journal*, to be put in type as soon as his nomition was announced.

The excursion train through Michigan was met by crowds at the various stations, all of whom in accordance with tho arrangements, sent up cheers for Seward, and shouted lustily when Gen. Nye, who was engaged for this business, begged them to reserve some of their applauso for the return of the delegates who would come back to them with Mr. Seward's name upon their banners. Nor was this intended as a mere rhetorical flourish; for huge banners bearing the likeness and the name of Seward for President, with the Vice President left blank, were even then lying furled up in the baggage car, awaiting the moment of the nominatiou to flaunt themselves before the admiring eyes of the public. Alas! they returned as they went, ingloriously—unseen; except that around one of them was wound by a sorrowing bearer, the black crape that had draped the likeness of Broderick on the wall of the wigwam.

Upon reaching Chicago, it became evident that a more determined opposition than had been anticipated, was to be made to the nomination of Mr. Seward. Horace Greeley, so mild, amiable and unsophisticated in seeming—a political Harold Skimple, playful and innocent as a child, yet somehow or other making his ingenuousness singularly profitable to himself—was busily at work, whispering confidingly in the ears of all who approached him, his regret that Mr. Seward could not hope to carry Pennsylvania, New Jersey, California, or Illinois—even if he should be safe in New York. David Dudley Field, shrewd and satanic, was flitting about from delegation to delegation, boldly avowing that the Radical Democrats, led by a majority of the State officers, in New York, would openly repudiate Mr. Seward's nomination. Mr. Opdyke, upon whom importance was bestowed by the very act which Mr. Seward's friends had designed should destroy him—the nomination for the Mayoralty of New York—was on hand ready to pay off with interest the treachery of Mr. Seward's friends, who had first placed him in the field and then labored for the election of Fernando Wood. And amply was the debt discharged by the damage which, as the supposed representative man of the monied interests of New York, Mr. Opdyke was enabled to do, by the declaration that no New York merchant, with the exception of a few personal friends, who hoped to profit by his success, would countnance the nomination of Mr. Seward, or spend one cent to elect him.

The Pennsylvania and New Jersey delegates, finding themselves thus backed by prominent New Yorkers, grew bolder and bolder in their opposition to Mr. Seward, until at last they declared that no Republican party existed in their State, and that if Mr. Seward's friends desired the nomination for him, they might take it without the aid of those States. Illinois followed in a similar strain, declaring that Mr. Seward could never carry that State and that his nomination would be certain defeat. These unqualified declarations had the effect of startling the other delegations, whose object was the spoils, and eventually led to the result of yesterday.

But open opposition was not all that Mr. Seward had to contend against. There were traitors in the camp of his friends; and the highest official of Mr. Seward's state, smarting under the stings of the last legislative session, although apparently favoring the nomination of New York's candidate, took more than one delegate from Vermont, from Massachusetts, and from Ohio aside, to inform them in confidence of the deplorable fact that the people *would* suspect that Mr. Seward, if elected President, would draw about him at Washington the corrupt men who made the Capital of New York a byo word of infamy and shame. A very nice method this, of aiding a friend in a tight spot!

The New York Sewardites did not suffer these assaults upon their favorite to be made without opposition. Although it was suggested that Mr. Greeley's well established character for opposition had entitled him to the cognomen of Mr. Disagreeley, yet the influence of his name was feared, and an attempt to drive him off the track was resolved upon. In accordance with this determination, a large number of New Yorkers assailed Mr. G. in the hall of the Tremont House on Wednesday morning, and used their tongues somewhat unrestrainedly in expressing their opinion of his conduct. First Mr. Simeon Draper, then Mr. Moses Grinnell, then Mr. Blunt, then Oakey Hall, and then others, more numerous than King Richard's ghostly visitors, tackled the bald-headed philosopher, and after the fashion of Mrs. Buggins toward her neighbors, "told him a bit of their minds." Mr. Greeley slowly retreated from the hotel before the attacks of his assailants, but as soon as he omerged from the crowd, it was discovered that he carried upon his coat tail a silken badge bearing the name of William H. Seward. With this addition to his usual somewhat eccentric habiliments, fastened there by a New York Harbor Master, the gallant Horace marched to the Wigwam, to the delight of several small boys and tittering females, whose unusually pressing attention Mr. Greeley doubtless attributed to the popularity of his widely circulated paper.

Thus the intrigues went on, hour after hour, until the time for balloting arrived. The New York delegates acted with forbearance and discretion, and Pennsylvania made some bad blunders in the Convention. But as the event proved, the latter triumphed in the end. In vain were the liberal offers of Messrs. Grinnell and Blatchford, to subscribe $250,000 each towards Mr. Seward's election. In vain were elegant dinners given by the New York delegation—in vain were processions of Seward men paraded thro' the streets—in vain were liberal promises made to the leaders of all the State delegations.

The ballot was taken, and Mr. Seward was defeated. The straight, sterling Republicans of New York, Michigan and Wisconsin beheld their champion go down before the Free Lances of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Illinois, and the felon stroke of Vermont. To attempt to describe the consternation and chagrin of the men of New York, Michigan and Wisconsin at this result would be useless. They were utterly prostrated, and although eventually a formal concurrence in the nomination was given, it was indeed with a "saddened spirit and a bleeding heart."

Is it to be wondered at that such should be the case? It was not that as a statesman Mr. Seward stands head and shoulders above all his competitors. It was not that as a Republican, he has brought a party up to his standard, instead of rising to the standard of a party. It was not that through him the new organization of the North has been enabled to appeal to the sympathies of the country and to win its way almost to victory.

It was not these considerations alone that made his followers so deeply mourn his overthrow. No man is more loyal to his friends—more warm in his attachments—more steadfast and true to his partisans than is Mr. Seward; and it is not surprising that the men who have so long enjoyed his friendship should grieve to see him slaughtered at the very moment when a grateful party should have rejoiced to heap all its honors upon his head. Nor was it forgotten that to his old Fillmore foes—to the adherents of the Silver Grey faction in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Illinois—to men who do not even choose to take upon themselves the name of Republicans, was the downfall of a consistent and unflinching Republican attributable. Deep and significant were the mutterings of Mr. Seward's New York friends when the nominations were made.

"And must Trelawny die?
And must Trelawny die?
Then forty thousand Free Soil Whigs
Will know the reason why."

The only immediate return that could be made to Pennsylvania was on the vote for the Vice Presidency. The word was, "strike down the candidate of the Black Mail State at any hazard;" and so overboard went Reeder and Hickman, and Hamlin unexpectedly received the nomination.

The ticket here is regarded as decidedly a weak one. It cannot carry Pennsylvania, at least if her own delegates are to be credited; for they avowed early in the struggle, when they believed Cameron's chances to be good, that Lincoln could not carry the State any more than Seward. All over the West, the nominations fall like a wet blanket, and all the fires that *were* kindled on the praries are effectually subdued. Before the Convention, the only word of recommendation found for the candidate was, that he could "split rails"—an accomplishment very desirable upon a western farm, but scarcely needed in the occupant of the Presidential Chair. Indeed, with the exception of a few who in the event of success would hope to be "taken into Abraham's bosom," I have as yet heard but one expression in the West—that the nomination is really one "not fit to be made."

The much boasted wigwam in which the Convention was held, was a failure. Badly lighted and illy ventilated, it gave to the body the character of a mass meeting, while not one half of even those on the platform could hear what was said by the speakers. The building, like the party for whose use it was erected, is unsubstantial and temporary—hastily put together by voluntary contributions—and full of cracks and flaws. Inside were the figures of Clay and Webster, and Jackson and Washington—out of place in a Republican wigwam, and emblematic of the false pretences of devotion to the Union and fealty to the Constitution, by which that sectional party strives to deceive and entrap the unwary.

Over the head of Gen. Gospel Nye was placed a little fat figure of Samuel searching the Scriptures, while above a little nest of congressional and legislative freebooters stood a figure of justice, blindfolded. And blind indeed she must have been, to have occupied such a position without letting her sword fall on the necks of those beneath.

There are two things to be observed; one is is that the friends of "Abe Lincoln" never dreamed of his nomination for the first place on the ticket, and only pressed it in order to give him a chance for the Vice Presidency.—The other is, that while Seward was beaten, not by Republicans, but by "People's Party" men, and "Opposition" men, and bogus delegates, his friends have scarcely any right to take exceptions to the sacrifice on that account. Their call, supposed to be shrewdly worded, called together the dregs of all parties and bid every fag end of faction welcome, under whatever name they might be known. Their call was answered. Having spread the net themselves, they can scarcely grumble at the character of the haul they have made. L.

Quincy Tribune
5/22/60

The Chicago Convention—Before and After the Nomination.

THE SEWARDITES AND ANTIES,—The outside pressure for Seward is greater than for any other candidate. His friends bring with them *means and men*—and among the latter is Tom Hyer, of New York, the famous prize ring victor—and they are determined to lay down Seward's cause only when they are compelled to yield by the force of combinations. His friends are apparently as confident as turkey-cocks in a field of hens

Dudley Field, Opdyke, Hiram Barney, and others of New York, are here, watching and praying for the defeat of Seward.—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

A FIGHT—FIRST BLOOD FOR SEWARD.—This afternoon the *spirit* of the advocates of rival candidates waxed warm. A Cameron man and two or three Seward advocates met in the saloon of the Tremont House, when the former, who is slightly Plug-Ugly, in the course of a discussion in regard to Catholicism and its opposite, declared that he could whip any Catholic living. It was a mighty big contract for any man of less inches than Heenan, and the friends of Mr. Seward evidently so regarded it, for they pitched in without a second invitation, and without regard to the rules of the P. R., drew the American blood of the Cameron man without remorse or stint. The fight promised to become more free than whiskey at a barbecue, when the police and friends of the parties interfered and quieted the disturbance. It was the first blood for Seward in the "irrepressible conflict" which naturally follows a gathering of the discordant elements which make up a Republican organization.

From the Philadelphia Press.

The friends of Seward are freely offering to bet, giving odds, on his nomination, but they find no takers.

The Seward managers have assured the leading delegates from Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio, to-night, that if Seward was nominated, they need not fear that they would have to contend against Douglas in other States, as Seward's friends would have money enough at Baltimore to prevent the nomination of the Little Giant.

The following call appeared in the Chicago *Democrat* the morning of the nominations:

"ATTENTION—FRIENDS OF SEWARD.—The warm friends of Mr. Seward are requested to assemble this morning at 9 o'clock, promptly, at the Richmond House, for the purpose of escorting the New York and Michigan delegations to the National Convention to the Wigwam

"Turn out, and let the escort show, by its magnitude and enthusiasm, the admiration entertained here for the greatest living American statesman and patriot.

"BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE."

After the nomination, the New Yorkers sat like marble statutes all the while, and when urged by their outside friends, as a matter of policy to join the general tumult, they respectfully declined. Some of the Sewardmen were so overcome by the defeat of their favorite that they cried like heart-broken children.—*N. Y. Herald.*

AN ILL-AN'-NOISY AFFAIR—The Chicago Convention.—*N. Y. Vanity Fair.*

Alta V Argus
May 22, 1860

SECOND EDITION.

LATEST NEWS

Midnight Dispatches.

The Republican Committee and Mr. Lincoln.

CHICAGO, May 21.

The Committee appointed by the Republican National Convention, comprising President Ashman and Chairman of the State delegations, to officially announce to Mr. Lincoln his nomination, arrived at Springfield, Saturday night, and proceeded to Mr. Lincoln's residence, where Mr. Ashman, in a brief speech, presented Mr. Lincoln the letter announcing his nomination.

Mr. Lincoln replied as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee:—I tender you and through you to the Republican National Convention and all the people represented in it, my profoundest thanks for the high honor done me, which you formally announce. Deeply and even painfully sensible of the great responsibility which is inseparable from that honor—a responsibility which I could almost wish had fallen upon some one of the far more eminent men and experienced statesmen, whose distinguished names were before the Convention—I shall by your leave consider more fully the resolutions of the Convention, denominated the platform, and without unseasonable delay respond to you, Mr. Chairman, in writing, not doubting that the platform will be found satisfactory and the nomination accepted; and now I will no longer defer the pleasure of taking you and each of you by the hand."

The various members were then presented to Mr. Lincoln who greeted each of them with a hearty shake of the hand.

The Chicago Convention—How the Cheat is Received.

The Cleveland *Plaindealer* calls the execution of SEWARD "a hangman's deed on a hangman's day." Its correspondent says:—

"The deed is done—as I predicted in my last letter, Seward, the Statesman and the great Champion of Republican principles has been slaughtered in the house of his friends. I was in at the death. It was painful to witness, to see a real great man, an acknowledged able, and reliable representative of the Republican party struck down by a combination of men he has furnished principles, brains, and position to, for the purpose of giving political leadership to a man who never fought but one political battle and then was beaten, with the entire force of the Administration to back him. But for that battle with Douglas, Lincoln would never have been known, except as a fifth rate lawyer. He has no political record except being once in Congress long enough to vote with Tom Corwin against supplies to our army in Mexico. He was nominated merely to beat Seward, not Douglas, according to all the Republican figuring here, with him they have no hopes of carrying New York or Pennsylvania and without these States they are beaten in the start.

"But the Kilkenny fight is over. Weed is used up—Wedd is done over, and the Seward men go home sore headed. They did not expect such a reception at Chicago. They did not understand the 'Wigwam dodge,' an Illinois trap capable of holding 10,000 hoosiers, each equal to forty wild cats in the way of a yell. All Chicago was a gull trap to catch the Seward, Chase and Bates men, who were willing to go for the winning candidate whoever he might be."

The Chicago *Democrat*, Long John, the Republican Mayor's organ, of Friday, says:—

"Again we express the hope that Mr. Seward will not be nominated to-day. It is hangman's day, and not the day for making a President.

"It is astonishing what a hold Gov. Seward has upon the masses of the people. The coopers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, the tailors, the printers, the shoemakers, the masons, the artisans, the free laborers generally are for Seward, over and above all other men. When once nominated, the enthusiasm in his favor will be perfectly crushing in its effect upon the politicians who are now opposing his nomination."

The Boston *Courier* says:

With Mr. Lincoln that party will inevitably fall to pieces, for there is nothing about him to rally upon. It will take the heart out of the party at once—and it may be reckoned now as dispirited, broken and beaten beforehand. * *

In reviewing the subject, we must own to extreme surprise at a result so unaccountable. The nomination is a blunder, and a fatal one. We thought they had shrewder men in the Republican Convention, better capable of controlling the lawless mob who seem to have brought this matter to such an unlucky consummation for them—so fortunate for the country. They have descended to low water for a candidate. There they will stick in the mud, and be engulfed in the advancing tide.

Lincoln's nomination (says an Eastern paper) will fall dead in New England. It is the meanest specimen of "availability" that has yet been attempted in America.

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.—Indeed, the Convention was so under the control of fighting men, German infidels and ruffians of all descriptions, that the least idea of the success of such a party is enough to strike terror to the stoutest patriotic heart, and to rally all decent and true men to resist and defeat it.

"Political corruption" was the subject of a sermon in New York on Sunday evening by Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, from the text, "The wicked walk on every side, when the vilest men are exalted." If the clergy only keep to that topic Lincoln will be Chicagoed! We prefer the Indian to the English word.

Hon. George Ashmun, on taking the chair as President of the Chicago Republican Convention, regaled his auditors with a speech on political corruption; a subject with which he is probably as familiar as anybody, having long been connected with the lobby of this country at Washington.—*N. Y. Jour. of Com.*

NOW AND THEN.—When Seward passed through Utica, a few months since, on his return home from Europe, our City Hall bell was made to ring its loudest peals of joy. When the news came, yesterday, that Seward was "killed, dead and done for," by the action of the Chicago Convention, the same bell, as if in lamentation for his fate, set up a mournful tolling, which continued until the whole community were informed of the sad intelligence.—*Utica Observer.*

Shortly after the nomination of Lincoln, a newsboy appeared in front of the office of the Seward organ, offering for sale to the crowd a woodcut likeness of the Illinois lecturer. The picture, though a very good likeness, is a frightful spectacle, and the boy was right in apologizing for it thus: "'Ere's yer likeness of Abe Lincoln—look better wen it gets its 'cad champoed and 'air cut!"—*Chicago Times.*

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

CONGRESS.

ON Monday, May 14, both Houses adjourned, on meeting, in order to witness the reception of the Japanese.

On Tuesday, May 15, in the Senate, Senator Douglas commenced his great speech in defense of popular sovereignty. The Senate adjourned before he ended.——In the House, Mr. Howard was awarded a contested seat from Michigan.

On Wednesday, May 16, Senator Douglas concluded his speech, and Senator Davis commenced his reply.——In the House, an inquiry into the New York Post-office defalcation was moved and adopted. One or two minor matters were discussed before the adjournment.

On Thursday, May 17, in the Senate, Senator Davis concluded his speech, and was answered by Senator Douglas.——In the House, a correspondent of the New York *Express*, by name Walker, was expelled for receiving money from parties interested in measures before Congress. The House then passed the Post-office Deficiency Bill. After acting on the Senate's amendments to the Deficiency and Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation bills, the House proceeded to the consideration of the legislative, executive, and judiciary expenses of the Government.

On Friday, May 18, the Senate ordered to be printed a bill carrying into effect treaties with Japan, Siam, China, and Persia; also a message from the President relative to the Mountain Meadows massacre. A bill was introduced providing for the examination and payment of claims of the citizens of Texas for Indian spoliations. Senator Davis's resolutions relative to the protection of slavery in the Territories were taken up, and Senator Mason, of Virginia, delivered a speech on the subject. Senator Toombs obtained the floor, but postponed his remarks till Monday. The Senate, after an executive session, adjourned.——The House passed the bill providing for the better protection of life on board steam vessels. A bill abolishing the Court of Claims, and providing for the adjudication of claims by the District Courts, was reported. The Nebraska contested election case was decided by the ousting of Mr. Eastabrooke, and the installation of Mr. Daily, the contestant.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The Republican National Convention organized at Chicago on 16th by selecting George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, for permanent President, and a long list of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries. Committees on Credentials and Platform were appointed, who reported next day a long platform affirming the usual Republican doctrines, with a Protective Tariff plank, and an indorsement (which was moved as an amendment) of the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence, declaring all men free and equal, etc. The Platform charges the Administration with extravagance and misgovernment, and insists on the rights of States to determine their own institutions. The platform was adopted amidst great applause. It reads as follows:

THE PLATFORM.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican Electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in the discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

First, That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now more than ever before demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph. That we solemnly reassert the self-evident truths, that all men are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are those of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that governments are intended among men to secure the enjoyment of these rights.

Second, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

Third, That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members of Congress without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency, as denying the vital principles of a free Government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke and forever silence.

Fourth, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political faith depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

Fifth, That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as is especially evident in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas—in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons—in its attempted enforcement every where, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and the Federal Courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

Sixth, That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the system of plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

Seventh, That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries Slavery into any or all the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent, is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

Eighth, That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of Freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempt to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States.

Ninth, That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave-trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, a burning shame to our country and age, and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

Tenth, That in the recent vetoes by their Federal Governors of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and Popular Sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, and a denunciation of the deception and fraud involved therein.

Eleventh, That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State, under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

Twelfth, That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imposts, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country, and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Thirteenth, That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free Homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty, and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory Homestead measure which has already passed the House.

Fourteenth, That the National Republican party is opposed to any change in our Naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home or abroad.

Fifteenth, That appropriations by Congress for River and Harbor Improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing Commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by an obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Sixteenth, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that as preliminary thereto a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

Seventeenth, Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

THE NOMINATION.

On Friday 18, the Convention nominated Abram Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President.

The ballotings were as follows. For President:

FIRST BALLOT.

For Mr. Seward	173½	For Mr. M'Lean	12
For Mr. Lincoln	102	For Mr. Collamer	10
For Mr. Cameron	50½	For Mr. Wade	3
For Mr. Chase	49	For Mr. Sumner	1
For Mr. Bates	48	For Mr. Read	1
For Mr. Dayton	14	For Mr. Frémont	1

Whole number of votes, 465; necessary to a choice, 233.

SECOND BALLOT.

For Mr. Seward	184½	For Mr. Dayton	10
For Mr. Lincoln	181	For Mr. M'Lean	8
For Mr. Chase	42½	For Mr. Cameron	2
For Mr. Bates	35	For Mr. Clay	2

THIRD BALLOT.

For Mr. Lincoln	354	For Mr. Dayton	1
For Mr. Seward	110½	For Mr. M'Lean	½

For Vice-President, the following is the

FIRST BALLOT.

For Mr. Hamlin	194	For Mr. Davis	8
For Mr. Clay	101½	For Mr. Houston	6
For Mr. Hickman	58	For Mr. Dayton	3
For Mr. Reeder	51	For Mr. Read	1
For Mr. Banks	38½		

SECOND BALLOT.

For Mr. Hamlin	367	For Mr. Hickman	13
For Mr. Clay	86		

The Least Worthy and the Least Likely

The N. Y. *Tribune*, before the nomination at Chicago, held this language:

"If we cannot probably elect Seward or Chase, *it will be in vain to nominate instead either Banks or Fessenden, or Dayton or Lincoln.*"

Of the six impracticable candidates, it places LINCOLN lowest and last.

Mr. BATES was, in the estimation of the *Tribune* editor, the fit man for the approaching contest; and if the extreme antagonism of men is to be the measure of their position, LINCOLN was the most unfit. Whatever elements of conservatism might be gathered about BATES, would be repelled by LINCOLN; for the latter stands on the lowest rung of political radicalism. Mr. LINCOLN was rejected by his own party, when an applicant for a seat in the United States Senate, because too extreme in his views. And when he ran against DOUGLAS, Mr. GREELEY withheld his sympathies from the very man he is now advocating for the higher office of President. At a more recent date, he is reported to have assumed this position (we copy from the Boston *Advertiser*):

A leading politician (Greeley) has lately said, that at the coming election he would willingly exchange the ten votes of Connecticut and Rhode Island for the Republican candidate, for the nine votes of Missouri.

This was when he hoped to carry Missouri with BATES. He cannot carry that State with LINCOLN, and will lose Connecticut and Rhode Island. He is caught in a dilemma of his own creation! And what is more, we have his own testimony as to his unfortunate position.

Fred. Douglas, the negro, who fled from the United States in terror, at the premature explosion of the John Brown insurrection, in Virginia, has returned home to take an active part with his political friends in the Lincoln campaign. In consequence of Lincoln's nomination, Fred. Douglas' paper will not be discontinued, as heretofore announced.

A correspondent call our attention to an important discovery which certainly tends to excite the suspicion that a secret plot has been hatching for some years between the present standard bearer of the Republican party and Mr. Greeley, of the *Tribune*, of which the nomination of the Chicago Convention is the natural result. It appears that a volume has just been brought to light, published some years since—we believe in 1851—and bearing the significant title of "Lincoln's Horace." What is yet more significant, is the fact, as our correspondent assures us, that the book is printed in a mysterious, unknown tongue—some language entirely strange to our correspondent, and evidently intended to conceal the real design of the author. No doubt, as he believes, those in the conspiracy possess a key to the singular words employed, that enables them to interpret them without difficulty. The book is dated from *Brown's University*. This certainly would imply some association between Lincoln, the author, who claims that "Horace" belongs to him, and old John Brown, the Virginia conspirator and outlaw. Altogether, the subject is wrapped in profound mystery, and is worthy the serious investigation of those who are curious in such matters. We hope to hear from the New York *Times* or the *Evening Journal*, on the subject.

The first of the many lives of Abraham Lincoln appear this morning.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

It is well that Abraham Lincoln has "many lives." The only "life" of "Old Abe" yet known to the public, has nothing in it to recommend him to the people's confidence or to prove him fit for the Presidency of a great Nation. But who knows whether something may not "turn up" under one of the "many lives" of the Pythagorean candidate, to prove him fit for something else than stump speaking and rail splitting?

EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 9, 1860.

SECOND EDITION

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS AND POLITICAL PRINCIPLES. Now that the National Conventions of the various political parties of the country have been held, and each of the four grand divisions has announced its candidates and its principles, it becomes the duty of the independent press to criticise these movements, and note the changes made by "representative men," and the new planks added to political platforms.

We suppose that no thoughtful and honest Democrat can have read the proceedings of the late Convention at Baltimore, without feeling that the general conduct of its members was far from being respectable, either in regard to manners or principles. As regards manners, the bullies of both sections predominated over the gentlemen; as regards principle, effrontery triumphed over reason. Even among the political thinkers there was a lack of intellectual honesty, which disgraced the cause they assumed to represent. The coarse impudence of will was fully matched by the coarse impudence of thought and learning.

But our present concern relates to the action of those representatives who assumed to speak the Democratic thought of Massachusetts. They appear to have been agents of the Administration rather than organs of the Massachusetts Democracy. They seem to have been as deficient in Northern sensibilities as in Northern principles. Their conduct was independent of any inspirations either of the wise head or the warm heart. As representatives of the Massachusetts Democracy, their votes should have been thrown for some person who was an exponent of the protest of the Northern Democracy against the impudent pretensions of the Southern fanatics, to rule the Democratic party or to ruin it. In regard to Massachusetts and South Carolina, Webster once said that "shoulder to shoulder they went through the Revolution,"—a revolution in favor of the Rights of Man. But mark the difference between 1776 and 1860! Massachusetts and South Carolina are still "shoulder to shoulder," as far as the party of the Seceders can promote that conjunction, but they are mutally working to enslave rather than to liberate,—to retard civilization rather than to advance it.

Now we beg to present to our readers,—as far as regards the question of slavery,—the authorized additions to the Cincinnati Platform, which were unanimously agreed to by the Convention of the Seceders, of which Convention a majority of the delegates from Massachusetts were members. Every voter who knows anything knows that the three resolutions we subjoin substantially embody Calhoun's paradoxes:

Resolved, That the Platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati be affirmed with the following explanatory resolutions:

1st. *Resolved*, That the government of a Territory, organized by an act of Congress, is provisional and temporary, and during its existence all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in a Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

2d. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the Federal Government in all its departments to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

3d. *Resolved*, That when settlers in a Territory having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and being consummated by an admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and that a State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

These resolutions reverse the commonplaces of American statesmanship from 1789 to 1840. Congress, it seems, has no power to exclude slavery from territories, but it has a duty to protect it therein. To descend in the scale of statesmanship, the "squatters" and first rude settlers of a territory, whether they come from the North or the South, have no right to determine the character of their institutions, until they are sufficiently numerous to form a State. In every territory slave labor, backed not merely by capital, but by the whole power of the United States Government, is to fight against "unprotected" free labor. The only possible ally of the latter in such a contest, is the providence of God, and such an ally is as possible in despotisms as in republics. Indeed, we think if the Emperors of Russia and Austria,—nay, we will go lower down, and say if the Kings of Naples and Dahomey—should read the resolutions we have quoted, their sense of the humorous would be tickled, even if their sense of justice were not shocked by principles which a majority of the delegates of the democracy of Massachusetts most gravely and piously endorsed. But then, it must be said, that these delegates have not possessed the advantages for education in the principles of free government which emperors and kings have enjoyed. How could it be expected that persons born and nurtured in the benighted State of Massachusetts should consider the national government as an instrument of elevating instead of enslaving mankind?

Here Was Abraham Lincoln Chosen.

1896

The Famous Chicago Wigwam of 1860 Fully Described.

Written for The Sunday Republic.

Conventions 30 years ago and more were run much on the same plan as they are now. There was the lucky city that captured the prize; a wigwam that accommodated great masses of people; an array of presidential candidates; a favorite son and a dark horse; bands and marching clubs, and all the rest of the paraphernalia that goes to make up a successful political pow-wow.

Chicago inaugurated the idea that National Convention halls should be built to hold the multitude back in May, 1860, when it constructed the immense wooden wigwam made famous by the first nomination of Abraham Lincoln.

This had been built by the Republican clubs of Chicago, and reflected credit upon the architecture of that time. The building stood on the corner of Lake and Market streets, which at that time was a very suitable location. It spread over an area of 100x180 feet. The cornice stood 40 feet from the ground. The ground floor inside was divided into the stage, which seated 1,800 persons; two large committee rooms, one on each side of the stage, and the floor of the hall, which seated 8,000 persons. The floor rested on an inclined platform, and a gallery 33 feet wide ran around three sides of the building. A portion of this was set aside exclusively for ladies, with a separate entrance. The roof was arched and provided with five skylights. At night the building was lighted with gas. W. W. Boyington was the architect who designed and erected it.

The convention met at 12 o'clock noon on Wednesday, the 16th of May. Governor E. D. Morgan, chairman of the National Republican Committee, a New Yorker, called the convention to order, read the call and delivered an address to the delegates. Hon. David Wilmot of Pennsylvania was temporary chairman, and the opening prayer was recited by Rev. Z. M. Humphrey of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago amid the profound silence of the vast audience. The rules of the House of Representatives were adopted for this convention.

In the afternoon Hon. George Ashmun of Massachusetts was made permanent presiding officer. The platform as reported by the Committee on Resolutions contained eight planks, some of which were quite significant. The extension of slavery was proclaimed a political heresy, and protection was recommended to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country. On the second day of the convention the platform was adopted amid great enthusiasm. The nominations were made on the succeeding day.

The Candidates.

The candidates before the convention for Presidential honors were William H. Seward of New York, John McLean of Ohio, Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts, William Pennington of New Jersey, John Bell of Tennessee, Edward Bates of Missouri, John C. Fremont of California and Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. Seward led on the first and second ballots, but it was argued that he could not carry the States which the Republicans failed to win in 1856, viz., Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois, and Lincoln was nominated on the third ballot. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was nominated for Vice President.

Many of the candidates who aspired to preferment in that convention had more or less interesting histories afterwards. Sixteen years later, when already well advanced in years, Simon Cameron, then Senator from Pennsylvania, got mixed up with a widow from the South, a Mrs. Oliver, who sued him for breach of promise. Mrs. Oliver was a little woman of uncertain age, and among those who knew her it was said that she was not quite "right in the upper story." She prided herself on being mistress of the art of making "drip" coffee, and many of the representatives in Congress of that year well remember how she haunted the corridors of the national assembly, buttonholing them, and as a last "coup" always throwing out an invitation to come and partake of her "drip."

Salmon P. Chase became Secretary of the Treasury, and his daughter is the famous beauty, Kate Chase Sprague. The scandal in which she became involved with Senator Roscoe Conkling is still too fresh in the minds of all American people to need more than casual reference.

Bates of Missouri.

One of the cleanest and most highly respected men before that convention was Edward Bates of St. Louis, who was vigorously pushed for Presidential honors by Blair and Greeley. Mr. Bates was the founder of an interesting family, members of which are still living in this community. He was the father of H. Bates and the grandfather of Charles F. Bates, who some years ago married Miss Maffitt, the daughter of another race of men who have always been more or less connected with national politics in Missouri.

Since the convention of 1860 Chicago was chosen as the place to nominate the Republican nominees in 1868, 1876, 1880, 1884 and 1888. It has had the Democratic conventions almost as often.

J WRIGHT

THE WIGWAM, AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

In which the Republican National Convention was held in May, 1860, and Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency.

to hold its sessions, and it was estimated that ten thousand persons were assembled in it to witness the proceedings. William H. Seward of New York was recognized as the leading candidate, but Chase of Ohio, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Bates of Missouri, and several prominent Republicans from other States were known to have active and zealous followers. . . . .

It was almost self-evident that in the coming November election victory or defeat would hang upon the result in the four pivotal States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois. . . . There was a chance that one or more of these four pivotal free States might cast its vote for Douglas and popular sovereignty.

A candidate was needed, therefore, who could successfully cope with Douglas and the Douglas theory; and this ability had been convincingly demonstrated by Lincoln. As a mere personal choice, a majority of the convention would have preferred Seward; but in the four pivotal States there were many voters who believed Seward's antislavery views to be too radical. They shrank apprehensively from the phrase in one of the speeches that "there is a higher law than the Constitution." These pivotal States all lay adjoining slave States, and their public opinion was infected with something of the undefined dread of "abolitionism." . . . .

When the Convention met, the fresh, hearty hopefulness of its members was a most inspiring reflection of the public opinion in the States that sent them. . . . . Few conventions have ever been pervaded by such a depth of feeling, or exhibited such a reserve of latent enthusiasm. . . . . Not alone the delegates on the central platform, but the multitude of spectators as well, felt that they were playing a part in a great historical event.

The temporary, and afterward the permanent organization, was finished on the first day. On the second day the platform committee submitted its work, embodying the carefully considered and skilfully framed body of doctrines upon which the Republican party, made up only four years before . . . was now able to find common and durable ground of agreement. . . . .

The platform was about to be adopted without objection when a flurry of discussion arose over an amendment, proposed by Mr. Giddings of Ohio, to incorporate in it that phrase of the Declaration of Independence which declares the right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Impatience was at once

Reminiscences of The Convention of 1860

Which Nominated Abraham Lincoln For The Presidency

By GERRY W. HAZELTON,
of Milwaukee, Wisconsin

II 2.157.1515

OUTSIDE, the streets were crowded with moving masses of humanity, watching and cheering the various clubs and organizations as they marched to their headquarters or paraded the streets to demonstrate their enthusiasm and their loyalty to their particular candidates. One could hardly walk a block without encountering a band of music, or witnessing a knot of people telling each other what they had seen or speculating on the probable action of the convention.

Entering one of the hotels on the afternoon preceding the day of the convention, I recall seeing Mr. Greeley surrounded by a crowd of curious people eager to see the man about whom so much was said, and to hear what he had to say. He was a delegate to the convention, not from his own state, but from Oregon. Hostile to Seward, and hence unable to secure a seat in the convention from New York, he had managed to obtain a proxy from one of the Oregon delegates which entitled him to share in the proceedings as a member of that delegation. Mr. Greeley undoubtedly excited more curiosity than any other delegate in the convention. He was the founder and editor of the New York Tribune, and his friends thought him the leading journalist of his time. Every one was anxious to see him, and the people in the galleries asked to have him pointed out. He was not friendly to Lincoln at the time, and there is reason to believe he never cared to be classed with his admirers.

There is another incident which lingers in memory, though not perhaps of any real importance except as it illustrates the spirit of the gathering. The delegation from Montana had brought with them a most delightful singer. He was a man of middle life, of winning manners, and with a voice as clear and sweet as the notes of a silver bell. I have heard many of the noted singers of my time, but never a sweeter voice than his. He had come to sing and to swell the enthusiasm of the occasion, and it is hardly necessary to add that he did not lack an audience. He went from one hotel to another with a crowd of admirers in his train. Occasionally, he would stop on the street corner and instantly a crowd would gather to listen, to admire and to cheer. The songs of the Civil war were then an unknown quantity. He sang "My Country, 'Tis of Thee, Sweet Land of Liberty," the "Star Spangled Banner," "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," and "The Sword of Bunker Hill." The last named seemed to be the favorite with the crowd, and they shouted and swung their hats like a mass of excited boys when he sang "And thirty millions bless the sires and sword of Bunker Hill!" These old songs would not move us now, the conditions are all so different; but they stirred the listeners then like a trumpet call.

The Lincoln Rails.

At the headquarters of the Illinois delegation, where a crowd of Lincoln's friends could always be found, two old rails were displayed which it was said were split by Lincoln and John Hanks in 1830.

The Missouri delegation had brought to Chicago with them a huge bowie knife, some eight or ten feet long, which was labeled: "The knife that John F. Potter intended to use in his engagement with Roger A. Prior had the affair not been called off."

The weapon only excited amusement for the time being, but the rails proved an important factor in the campaign and have been assigned a place in history, like the log cabin of 1840.

Curiosity led an immense throug of people to the Wigwam on the evening preceding the day of the convention. Among these were many delegates anxious to see the novel structure in which the convention was to conduct its business.

In response to a general desire, some one called the gathering to order and an hour or more was spent in listening to speeches. Governor Andrews, of Massachusetts, W. D. Kelly, of Pennsylvania, and Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin, were among the speakers, all of whom were heard with eager interest.

The 16th of May dawned fair and bright, and long before twelve o'clock the galleries of the Wigwam were crowded with people, and tens of thousands were in the streets watching the arrival of delegates. At a few minutes after twelve, Mr. E. D. Morgan, of New York, chairman of the national committee, called the convention to order, and at the conclusion of a stirring speech nominated David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, the well known author of the Wilmot Proviso, for temporary chairman.

Greeley's Quick Retort.

An amusing exchange of compliments occurred during the organization of the convention, which disclosed Mr. Greeley's readiness at retort. He had submitted a motion on some subject which he deemed of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the convention, and supported the same with a few remarks. The motion was antagonized by one of the delegates, who alluded to Mr. Greeley as the distinguished gentleman from Oregon. The allusion was evidently relished by the New York delegation, but no sooner had the delegate resumed his seat than Mr. Greeley was on his feet.

"The gentleman," said Mr. Greeley, in his peculiar falsetto voice, which attracted general attention, "the gentleman from Rhode Island or Delaware, or some place unknown to me, evidently does not comprehend the purport of my motion." The retort occasioned general merriment and left the impression that the distinguished gentleman from Oregon was able to take care of himself.

The day closed with the selection of George Ashman, of Massachusetts, then a distinguished member of Congress, as permanent president, and the preliminary work of the convention was accomplished.

The consideration of the platform was reserved for the following day. The popular understanding is that the committee on resolutions formulates the platform. In point of fact, various delegates come to the convention with resolutions already drafted for the consideration of the committee, and from these, as drawn or amended by the committee, the platform is finally agreed upon and reported to the convention.

The Giddings Incident.

One of the most interesting indidents of the day grew out of the consideration of the platform. After the same was read, the question of its adoption submitted, when Mr. Giddings moved an amendment to the first desolution, embracing a phrase from the Declaration of Independence, affirming that all men are created equal, and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Instead of adopting this amendment, as the logic of the situation required, it was opposed by the chairman of the committee as unnecessary, and somewhat timidly rejected, whereupon Mr. Giddings took his hat and withdrew from the convention. Before he had reached the door of the Wigwam, George William Curtis sprang to his feet and shouted "Mr. President!" A hush fell upon the assembly, and all eyes were turned toward the speaker. In a moment came cries from all quarters "Take the platform! Take the platform!" "No," said Mr. Curtis, mounting the bench, "I can be heard from here." He then proceeded to read an amendment to the second resolution substantially the same as that just voted down. A question of order was raised and overruled, and in a clear, ringing voice the speaker continued: "Gentlemen of the convention, I beg you to consider well, consider well, whether you are prepared to go before the people in the campaign which is just before us in defense of the charge that here in this convention, here where the free winds of heaven sweep over your teeming prairies, here in the city of Chicago, in the summer of 1860, you winced and quailed and shrank from giving your sanction to the words of the immortal declaration proclaimed to the world by our fathers in 1776!" The earnest pleading voice of the orator reached every ear in the convention. The scene was dramatic. I can almost fancy I hear it no was I heard it then—a challenge to the manhood of every delegate, as resistless as the sweep of a tempest. The amendment which had just been rejected was adopted with a tumultuous aye, and before the applause had subsided Mr. Giddings returned to his seat with a show of delight and satisfaction he took no pains to conceal. I have heard many eloquent speeches, but I recall none more effective than the brief appeal of George William Curtis in that convention on that afternoon.

the seats for the delegates were heavy boards supported by strong wooden chairs. The roof was in keeping with the general character of the structure.

Such was the enclosure in which a chapter was to be written in the history of the republic not less important in the cause of civilization than the chapter written at Runnymede more than six centuries earlier, or the chapter written by our forefathers in 1776 in Independence Hall.

(To Be Continued.)

CONVENTION OF 1860 RECALLED IN CHICAGO

Republicans Met Sixty Years Ago and Nominated Abraham Lincoln.

Chicago, Ill., May 29—The convening of the republicans in Chicago, June 6, to nominate a candidate for president, recalls afresh at this time the republican convention opening here sixty years ago which nominated Abraham Lincoln. This was the second national republican convention and the first of the many which have since been held in Chicago.

The convention assembled on May 16, 1860, and Lincoln was nominated on May 19, the third and last day. After his election feeling aroused by the slavery issue ran quickly into civil war.

Relics of the campaign of 1860, including the oil painting of the "rail splitter," are preserved by the Chicago Historical society. E. E. Wood, field secretary of the society, has just prepared what he regards as the most complete account of the events of the convention of 60 years ago. In this he calls attention to Addison G. Proctor, of Ann Arbor, Mich., who, Mr. Wood believes, is the only surviving delegate of the convention.

Chicago in 1860 was a promising city of 110,000 not quite 25 years old. It had won the convention by the offer to build the largest assembly hall in the country and fill it at every session. Accordingly the "Wigwam" arose at the southwest corner of Lake and Market streets, occupying a space 100 by 180 feet. It was a temporary wooden structure costing a little over the estimated $5,000. The balance was made up by charging 25 cents admission on its formal opening the Saturday before the convention.

Seward Was Favorite.

Few republican conventions, if any, have been so charged with excitement or had so spectacular an ending. Lincoln's prospects appeared small enough before the convention opened. The favorite was William H. Seward, senator from New York. He had a great asset in the ability of Thurlow Weed, who prosecuted his campaign among the delegates. He suffered a handicap in the determined opposition of Horce Greeley, the famous New York editor, who had no candidate of his own but refused to have Seward. Both Greeley and Weed were early on the ground and according to Mr. Wood's review, the centers of interest. He notes, however, that other, and non-political attractions, were numerous, among them being Zouaves, circus band, minstrels, and such well-known theatrical pieces of the day as "Lucretia Borgia" and "The Hidden Hand."

The Slavery Issue.

The slavery issue came up quickly on the first day of the convention, when David Wilmot of Pennsylvania on taking the chair as temporary chairman made a ten minute anti-slavery speech. "No extension of slavery" became an essential part of

In view of the many days now spent in hearing delegate contests, this convention of 60 years ago, offered something novel. There were no contested delegates. There were, however, some "contesting" states. And whether to admit Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Texas was a question that occupied most of the first day and was still undecided when adjournment came for the day.

The next day the convention decided to admit the "border states." The platform committee then brought in its report. It was amended to include a reassertion of the "self-evident truths" of the constitution. At adjournment little remained beyond choosing the candidate, and Mr. Wood characterizes that night as a tumultuous one filled with band music and processions until almost day. Enthusiasm for Seward, well worked up in his behalf, was at high tide. Greeley telegraphed his paper that Seward's nomination appeared certain. Incidentally, remarks Mr. Wood, this convention was the first at which the telegraph was employed.

Lincoln Gets Nomination.

How Lincoln came into the nomination is now for many a familiar story. Seward led on the first ballot 173½, with Lincoln next best at 102, and 233 necessary for choice. A few more votes came to Seward on the second ballot, bringing his total to 184½, while Lincoln jumped to close quarters with 181. The taking of the third ballot showed Lincoln getting strongly to the front.

As the figures were being compiled, D. K. Cartter of Cleveland, O., counting them up for himself, found that Lincoln needed only a few votes to win. The tabulation in fact at that moment was 231½ for Lincoln and 180 for Seward, with 233 necessary for the nomination. Instantly Cartter was on his feet to announce the transfer of four Ohio votes from Chase to Lincoln.

The convention quickly broke into a scene of enthusiasm with few parallels in the long list of American political conventions. Further votes were changed to bring Lincoln's total to 354. The nomination was then made unanimous.

J WRIGHT

The Republican Convention of 1860

By J. R. WEBER

The eighteenth national convention of the Republican party is now in session, in the city of Cleveland. It may therefore be interesting to the readers of this newspaper to narrate at this time the early history of this great political party—a party that has successfully guided the destinies of the nation through many critical periods of its history, during the sixty-eight years of its existance.

Up to the time of the first national Republican convention in the year 1856, nine distinct national political parties had existed for a time, with more or less success or failure, and had passed into political oblivion. They are historically recorded, with their names and chronology as follows:

1789: The Federalist party — the party of Washington.

1789: The Anti-Federalist party.

1807: The Democratic party, succeeding the Anti-Federalist party, which has been in existance from the year of its organization until the present time.

1831: The National Republican party—succeeding the Federalist party.

1832: The Anti-Secret Society party.

1834: The Whig party — succeeding the National Republican party.

1840: The Abolition party.

1848: The Free-Soil party.

1852: The Know-Nothing party.

1856: The National American party — succeeding the Know-Nothing party.

Each of these parties presented, during their respective careers, nominees for the offices of President and Vice-president of the United States. A number of them were, what we would term today, independent or third party organizations, and it is a notable fact that not a single one of these succeeded in electing their candidates. And that is equally true of all third party organizations or independent parties up to the present time.

Early in the "eighteen-fifties," and even prior to that time, the pro-slavery adherents in the north became so persistently aggressive that the anti-slavery sentiment in the Democratic, Whig, Know-Nothing and Free-Soil parties were forced into a coalition for offense and defense, with the ultimate result that the Republican party of the present day came into existance.

Like many other great and far-reaching movements that have in the past done much to shape and to ameliorate the destinies of human-kind, the Republican party began its career in an humble manner and under the most commonplace conditions. As the doctrines of the Son of Man were first promulgated from the hills of Judea to the common people, and along the shores of Galilee to the plain fisher-folk, so the doctrines of this great political party, destined in after years to set the bondmen free and to demontrate to civilization that a government of the people, by the people, for the people, should not perish from the earth, were first enunciated on the great prairies of central Illinois, and along the banks of the unpretentious Sangamon. And the common people listened gladly.

Abraham Lincoln was the dominant personality in the anti-slavery cause, and it was eminently fitting that the great movement should begin its career in his home state and in and near his home city. Anti-slavery meetings were held in the smaller towns of Sangamon and surrounding counties early in the "fifties." At these meetings resolutions were enthusiastically adopted pledging the participants to use all honorable means to prevent the further spread of slavery in the free territories.

A coalition anti-slavery party along the lines already mentioned was a foregone conclusion at this early period—it had already been born but not yet christened. This ceremony was performed at a convention of anti-slavery Whigs, at Bloomington, Illinois, in the year 1854. Abraham Lincoln whose political affiliations had always been with the Whig party, was a delegate to this convention. A resolution to the effect that the party be christened "Republican," was presented and unanimously adopted. The party has born that name with honor and distinction through more than two-thirds of a century. And thus it transpires that Bloomington is justly entitled to the distinction of being the birth place of this great political party.

From this time on the young child grew and waxed strong, and in the spring of 1856 sentiment was ripe for a more comprehensive organization of the new party. A convention was called to meet at Bloomington on the 29th of May of that year. This convention was largely attended by an enthusiastic representation from all counties of the state. Most prominent among them was Abraham Lincoln, of Sangamon. Richard Yates, who four years later became the great war governor of Illinois, was present, as were General John M. Palmer, afterwards governor of the state, and United States Senator, Owen Lovejoy, Lyman Trumbull, "Long" John Wentworth, and other distinguished personages were there, as were many notable citizens of Illinois, whose names are indelibly recorded on the historic pages of the state and nation.

It was on this occasion that Abraham Lincoln delivered what is said to have been the masterpiece of oratory of his entire career—"the lost oration"—so-called from the fact that no verbatum report is obtainable, it being in the main an extemperaneous effort. For more than an hour he held his audience spell-bound with his masterful oratory and profound logic. The stenographers and newspaper reporters dropped their pencils in rapturous attention, giving up the impossible task of correctly recording the substance of the great oration. It was never preserved, except in the minds of those who were fortunate enough to be present, and who have long ago passed away.

The first national convention of the Republican party assembled in the city of Philadelphia early in the summer of 1856. It seems somewhat paradoxical, but it is nevertheless true, that this first Republican convention was largely made up of Democrats. There was a fair representation of Whigs and a sprinkling of Abolitionists, Know - Nothings and National Americans. The Democratic element was in complete control, as is demonstrated by the conservative tone of the platform declarations, as well as by the character of the nominees for President and Vice-President — Freemont and Dayton. Lincoln was a delegate to this convention. His name appeared later at the head of the list of presidential electors for Illinois.

But our greatest interest is centered in the national Republican convention of 1860 which convened in the city of Chicago, in May. Lincoln was not a delegate to this convention and was not present. He remained at his home in Springfield, anxiously awaiting the returns. Stories to the effect that he was unconcernedly playing handball on a vacant lot near his home, are unwarranted and entirely without foundation. His companions during this stressful period assert that he fully appreciated the importance of the situation. No man better than Lincoln realized that there was a time to work and a time to play—he was doing neither on this particular occasion.

Nominations for President were made on the 17th of May, as follows: William M. Evarts nominated William H. Seward of New York. Norman B. Judd nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. Frank P. Blair nominated Edward Bates of Missouri. Pennsylvania presented Simon Cameron. Ohio presented Salmon P. Chase. 233 votes constituted a majority of the convention. Three ballots were taken with the following results:

First ballot: Seward 173½. Lincoln 102. Cameron 50. Bates 48. Chase 49.

Second ballot: Seward 184½. Lincoln 181. A gain of 11 votes for Seward and 79 for Lincoln. Balance scattering.

Third ballot: Seward 181. Lincoln 231½. Chase 24½. Cameron 8. Bates 22.

Before the result of the third ballot was announced Ohio changed 4 votes from Chase to Lincoln, which was sufficient to nominate him. Other states followed the

lead of Ohio, and when the vote was finally announced, amid a tumult of enthusiasm, Lincoln was shown to have received 354 votes —more than a hundred votes in excess of the required number. The nomination was then made unanimous. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine was named as the Vice-Presidential candidate.

Hon. Charles S. Zane, for seven years chief justice of the supreme court of the territory of Utah, was with Lincoln during the proceedings of the convention. They were together at the Journal office, when the final result came over the wire. A copy of the telegram was handed to Lincoln, which he received with the quiet remark: "I knew this would be the result when I heard the second ballot." Then turning gravely away, with a gesture in the direction of his home, he remarked, "There is a little woman over yonder who is deeply interesed in this news. I want to carry it to her myself"—and he did.

WRIGHT

The Turbulent Convention

By HERBERT HOLLANDER

FEW nominating conventions have been so dramatic as that which put forward Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency.

The birthday anniversary of Lincoln, to be marked next Wednesday, and the approaching national conventions serve to focus attention upon this important phase of his career.

The delegation met in Chicago in 1860 with the eyes of the country focused upon them more apprensively than upon any other similar group in the annals of the Nation. For 20 years the problems of secession and slavery had been before the country. From year to year the issues had increased in bitterness.

The turn of the political wheel made it clear that the new Republican party would be able to elect a President. North and South alike waited with bated breath for the first news from the Wigwam; news which would bring to a climax the issues that had been tormenting the country for decades.

The Wigwam, dwarfed now by countless convention halls, was a two-story frame structure considered "gigantic" at the time. To it flocked hundreds of delegates and thousands of visitors. Excitement was intense.

The two leading candidates for the Presidency on the Republican ticket were William H. Seward and Abraham Lincoln.

Seward, distinguished as Governor of New York and in the Senate, and who was to become Lincoln's Secretary of State, was favored to win. He very nearly did so.

Lincoln, who had served a term in the House of Representatives and had gained a national reputation in his debates with Stephen A. Douglas, was not lacking adherents. The original Lincoln men for the most part were intense in their devotion to his cause.

There were other candidates, among them Simon Cameron, Edward Bates, Salmon P. Chase and William L. Dayton.

It was apparent from the beginning that the contest would lie between Seward and Lincoln; the one smooth, suave, polished, a leader in State and Nation; the other a plain frontiersman, whose clothes hung drably upon his grotesquely angular frame and whose every speech was interlarded with homely allusions and quaint anecdote.

The Seward men were confident of victory; the Lincoln men less so, but grimly determined to hang on to the end.

Plenty of Color

The Wigwam, built especially for this convention, was formally opened with speech-making, torchlight processions, and all the other picturesque accoutrements of politics in that rococo day. Delegates crowded Chicago's streets and avenues. The city's 42 hotels were jammed and billiard tables were pressed into service as beds. State meetings were held everywhere, conferences were in progress in lobbies, hotel rooms, and saloons, while political marching clubs, among them the famous "Wide-Awakes," met all trains and escorted delegates to headquarters.

Among the well known figures to make their appearance were Horace Greeley, bewhiskered oracle of the New York Tribune, who was vigorous in his opposition to Seward; Thurlow Weed, manager of the Seward campaign; and Carl Schurz, German emigree destined to become an outstanding figure in American politics.

On May 16 the convention opened and the entire nation paused to catch the first hint of what was to come. Everyone knew that history was in the making. For the first time, telegraph instruments were brought into the building for the use of newspaper correspondents.

A survey of the convention hall revealed many whose names were to become historic. The Connecticut delegation was lead by the venerable Gideon ("Father") Welles, who became Secretary of the Navy in the Lincoln Cabinet. Chief of the New York delegation was William M. Evarts, Secretary of State under President Hayes, George S. Boutwell, who became Grant's Secretary of the Treasury, was there; and many men who became war governors in various Northern States. Walking with a limp was Thaddeus Stevens, fanatical radical of Reconstruction. Here, there and elsewhere, his whiskers, his pink and white complexion, his spectacles, his strange garb all making him unmistakable in any gathering, was Horace Greeley, who later was to vent bitter wrath upon the patient Lincoln in the columns of his newspaper.

Took a Boat Ride

David Wilmot, whose name is familiar to every school boy because of his famous "Proviso," was appointed temporary chairman and keynoter. This matter disposed of, the convention wasted much time arguing about an invitation from the Board of Trade to take a boat rlde on Lake Michigan. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon George Ashmun of Massachusetts, was appointed permanent chairman and according to all contemporary accounts he did the job well. "He was animated, and yet his emotions did not get the better of him."

Thursday was devoted largely to matters pertaining to the party platform, to asserting principles of "liberty and freedom," to a great amount of droning, and to a few outbursts of feeling. At the close of one of the latter, in the afternoon, a delegate moved to proceed with the balloting for the presidential nomination. Had this been approved, Seward probably would have been named then and there.

However, the secretary announced that the tally sheets were not prepared, but would arrive shortly. Then, according to the official record, a "voice" moved adjournment until 10 o'clock the following morning. This was carried.

Greeley Was Wrong

At that time the situation looked all but hopeless for Lincoln, and Greeley, who was an ardent foe of Seward's, wired his paper:

"My conclusion, from all that I can gather tonight, is that the opposition to Governor Seward cannot concentrate on any candidate, and that he will be nominated."

That night the Seward forces did a lot of premature celebrating, with the Richmond House headquarters as the scene of the revels.

However, a strong ferment was building against Seward which finally was to bring about his defeat and the nomination of Lincoln, Seward had many friends but he also had many enemies. Lincoln, not so well known, was trusted for his honesty and forthrightness and admired for his native ability. Coming into the convention with a number of delegations pledged to him, he became the ideal candidate for the anti-Seward forces to concentrate upon successfully.

The following dispatch sent by Murat Halstead to The Cincinnati Commercial, explains the feeling of many delegates:

"The Pennsylvanians declare if Seward were nominated they would be immediately ruined. They could do nothing. The majority against them would be counted by tens of thousands. New Jerseyites say the same thing. The Indianians are of the same opinion. They look broken-hearted at the suggestion that Seward has the inside track, and throw up their hands in despair. They say Lane (candidate for Governor) will be beaten, the legislature pass utterly into the hands of the Democrats and the two Republican Senators hoped for heard of no more. Illinois agonizes at the mention of Seward, and says he is the sting of political death...."

All these considerations received

increasing emphasis, and toward midnight it was agreed among the anti-Seward men that Lincoln was definntely stronger than either Cameron or Dayton. It finally was decided that the New Jersey and Pennsylvania delegations would give their first votes in compliment to Dayton and Cameron, respectively, and then join the Lincoln bandwagon.

Lincoln Gets It

Next morning Evants of New York placed Seward in nomination and Norman B. Judd of Illinois performed a similar function in Lincoln's behalf. There were no lengthy speeches, the men making the nominations contenting themselves with the single sentence putting their candidates in the running. This is in the most striking contrast to current practice.

Others placed in nomination were Dayton of New Jersey, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio and Bates of Missouri.

"When the candidates were put in nomination," wrote Halstead, "the only names that produced 'tremendous applause' were those of Seward and Lincoln. Everybody felt that the fight was between them, and yielded accordingly. Mr. Seward was first nominated and the applause was enthusiastic. The next nomination was that in behalf of Mr. Lincoln, and the response was prodigious, rising and raging beyond the Seward shriek.

"Presently Caleb B. Smith seconded the nomination of Lincoln, and the response was absolutely terrific. It now became the Seward men to make another effort, and Blair of Michigan seconded his nomination, and

'At once there rose so wild a yell,
Within that dark and narrow dell,
As all the fiends from Heaven that fell,
Had pealed the banner cry of Hell.'

"The effect was startling. Hundreds of persons stopped their ears in pain. The shouting was absolutely frantic, shrill and wild. No Commanches or panthers ever struck a higher note or gave to a scream more infernal intensity. Looking from the stage over the vast amphitheater, nothing was to be seen below but thousands of hats—a black, mighty swarm of hats—flying with the velocity of hornets over a mass of human heads, most of the mouths of which as appeared were open. Above, all around the galleries, hats and handkerchiefs were flying in the tempest together. The wonder of the thing was that the Seward outside pressure should, so far from New York, be so powerful.

"Now the Abe Lincoln men had delegation of that state, seconded the nomination of Lincoln (as 'a man who can split rails and maul Democrats') and the uproar that followed was beyond description. Imagine all the hogs ever slaughtered in Cincinnati giving their death squeals together, and a score of big steam whistles going together (steam at 160 pounds per inch), and you conceive of something of the same nature. I thought the Seward yell could not be surpassed; but the Lincoln boys were clearly ahead, and feeling their victory, as there was a lull in the storm, they took deep breaths all around and gave a concentrated shriek that was positively awful, and accompanied it with stamping that made every plank and pillar in the building quiver . . ."

Three ballots were necessary to decide the nomination. A total of 233 votes was required for a choice. On the first ballot, Seward polled 173½ votes to 102 for Lincoln, with Cameron third on 50½. During the taking of the second ballot Cameron's name was withdrawn, and when the totals were added Seward's votes were 184½ and Lincoln 181. As the votes were being tallied, and before the official announcement was made, an Ohio delegate Carter, shouted the announcement that Ohio changed for four votes for Lincoln.

Pandemonium then broke loose, salutes were fired, and, in the words of The Chicago Tribune "a deafening roar and stentorian applause arose from the immense multitude such as had never been equalled on the American continent nor since the day that the walls of Jericho were blown down."

After quiet was restored, the chairman made the brief announcement:

"Abraham Lincoln of Illinois is selected as your candidate for President of the United States."

The convention adjourned shortly after, at noon, to reconvenve at 5 o'clock for nomination of a Vice President. This was accomplished in short order when Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was named on the second ballot.

"With cheers for the Ticket, the Platform, and the Ladies of Chicago," the convention then finally adjourned.

Made No Campaign

Abraham Lincoln received the news of his nomination in Springfield, his home. The story is told that he was at the office of The State Journal when news came of his victory at Chicago. As the clicking key brought the word of that momentous third ballot, the telegraph superintendent wrote the glad tidings on a slip of paper and dispatched a boy with it to Lincoln. The nominee read it slowly, carefully, unmindful of the happy shouting and confusion about him. Then he remarked quietly:

"There's a little woman down at our house who would like to hear this. I'll go down and tell her."

Formal notification by the official committee followed shortly.

Lincoln himself apparently took relatively little part in the ensuing campaign. He spoke only informal-

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gave Lincoln a total of 180 electoral votes against 72 for Breckenridge; 39 for Bell; and 12 for Douglas. In the popular vote Lincoln did not fare so well, his total vote being 1,866,452 against 1,375,157 for Douglas; 847,953 for Breckenridge; and 590,631 for Bell.

And so the fickle fortune wheel of politics brought to the White House in the Nation's greatest crisis the man whom history was to place beside the immortal Washington. The drama that began in that bleak frontier cabin on Feb. 12, 1809 reached a turning point in Chicago, in May, 1860 and five years later saw its tragic climax.

This week the people of every land join America in paying tribute to the memory of the chief actor in that drama.

Spectacular Political Convention

By HERBERT HOLLANDER
Special Correspondent of the Globe-Democrat

THERE have been few political conventions so dramatic, so filled with excitement, and more tense with the efforts of the managers of the leading contenders to secure enough votes for their candidates to insure nomination, than that which put forward Abraham Lincoln for President of the United States.

Lincoln's birthday anniversary and approaching conventions at which standard-bearers for the 1948 campaign will be chosen, serve to recall this crucial turning point in his career, and the many highlights and sidelights of that spectacular occasion which have a remarkably timely interest today.

The delegates met in Chicago in 1860 with the eyes of the country focused upon them perhaps more apprehensively than any other similar group before or since. For 20 years sectional differences had been growing increasingly sharp and apparently ever more irreconcilable.

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THE TURN of the political wheel made it clear that the new Republican party would be able to elect a president. North and South alike waited with bated breath for the first news from the Wigwam; news which would bring to a climax the issues that had been tormenting the country for decades.

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There were other candidates, too, among them Simon Cameron, Edward Bates, Salmon P. Chase, and William L. Dayton.

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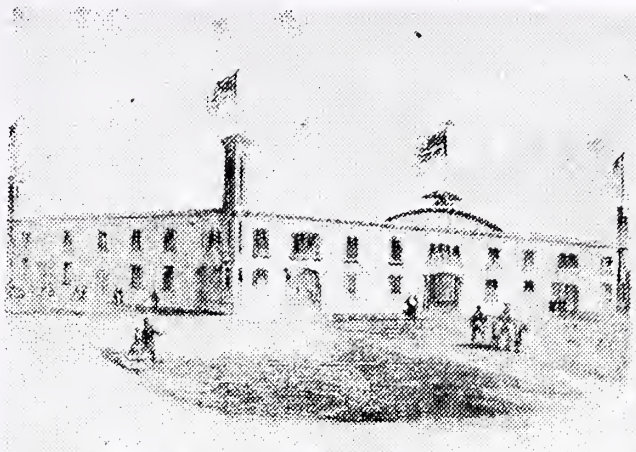
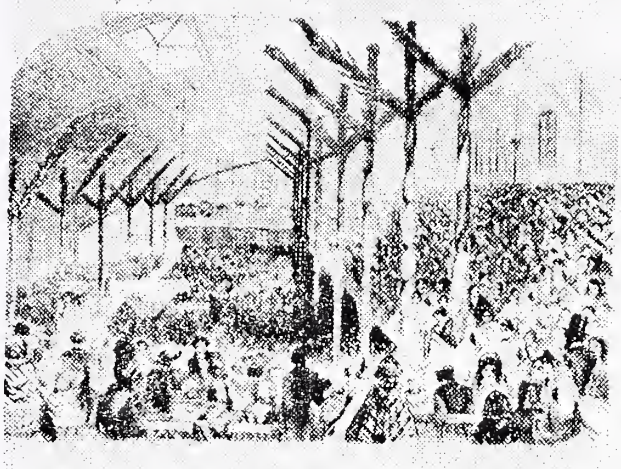
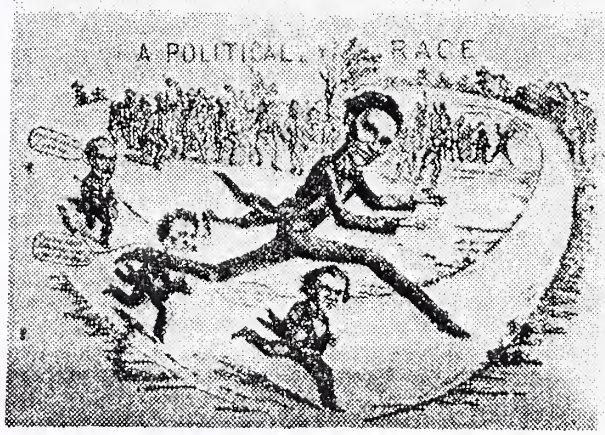
IT WAS apparent from the beginning that the contest would lie between Seward and Lincoln; the one suave, polished, a leader in his state and in the nation; the other a plain frontiersman, whose clothes hung drably upon his grotesque angular frame and whose every speech was interlarded with homely allusions and quaint anecdotes.







ONE OF THE MOST MEMORABLE of all political conventions was that which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the presidency 88 years ago. Top left, exterior view of the wooden wigwam, especially built for the occasion, where the convention was held in May, 1860. Center left, interior view of the convention hall, a vast structure for its day. (From Harpers Weekly.) Lower left, a cartoon of the campaign which followed, with Lincoln running against the candidates of three other parties. Top right, this very rare 1860 photograph of Lincoln by Hesler was made just a few weeks after his nomination. (From the Library of Congress.) Lower right, this campaign jibe depicting Lincoln as two-faced is based on a comparison of statements made by him in 1858 and immediately following the nominating convention two years later.

for this convention, was formally opened with speech-making, torch-light processions, and all the other picturesque features of politics of that rococo day. Delegates crowded Chicago's streets and avenues. The city's 42 hotels were jammed and billiard tables were pressed into service as beds. State meetings were held everywhere, conferences were in progress in lobbies, hotel rooms and saloons, while political marching clubs, among them the famous "Wide-Awakes," met all trains and escorted delegates to headquarters.

Horace Greeley, bewhiskered oracle of the New York Tribune, who was vigorous in his opposition to Seward; Thurlow Weed, the shrewd realist who managed the Seward campaign; and Carl Schurz, German emigre destined to become an outstanding figure in American politics.

★ ★ ★

ON MAY 16 the convention opened and the entire nation paused to catch the first hint of what was to come. Everyone knew that history was in the making. For the first time, telegraph instruments were brought into the build-

...g for the use of newspaper correspondents.

★ ★ ★

DAVID WILMOT, famous for his "Proviso," was appointed temporary chairman and keynoter. This matter disposed of, the convention wasted much time arguing about an invitation from the Board of Trade to take a boat ride on Lake Michigan. At five o'clock in the afternoon George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, was appointed permanent chairman and according to all contemporary accounts he did the job well.

Thursday was devoted largely to matters pertaining to the party platform, to asserting principles of "liberty and freedom," to a great amount of droning, and to a few outbursts of feeling. At the close of one of the latter, in the afternoon, a delegate moved to proceed with the balloting for the presidential nomination. Had this been approved, Seward probably would have been named then and there.

However, the secretary announced that the tally sheets were not prepared, but would arrive shortly. Then, according to the official record, a "voice" moved adjournment until 10 o'clock the following morning. This was carried.

At that time the situation looked all but hopeless for Lincoln, and Greeley, who was an ardent foe of Seward, wired his paper:

"My conclusion, from all that I can gather tonight, is that the opposition to Governor Seward cannot concentrate on any candidate, and that he will be nominated."

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That night the Seward forces did a lot of premature celebrating, with the Richmond House headquarters as the scene of the revels.

★ ★ ★

HOWEVER, a strong ferment was building against Seward which finally was to bring about his defeat and the nomination of Lincoln. Seward had many friends but he also had many enemies. Lincoln, not so well known, was trusted for his honesty and forthrightness and admired for his native ability. Coming into the convention with a number of delegates pledged to him, he became the ideal candidate for the anti-Seward forces to concentrate upon successfully.

The following dispatch, written by the noted newspaperman, Murat Halstead, explains the feeling of many delegates:

"The Pennsylvanians declare if Seward were nominated they would be immediately ruined. They could do nothing The majority against them would be counted by tens of thousands. New Jerseyites say the same thing. The Indianians are of the same opinion. They look broken-hearted at the suggestion that Seward has the inside track, and throw up their hands in despair. They say Lane (candidate for Governor) will be beaten, the Legislature pass utterly into the hands of the Democrats and the two Republican Senators hoped for heard of no more. Illinois agonizes at the mention of Seward, and says he is the sting of political death . . ."

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ALL THESE considerations received increasing emphasis, and toward midnight it was agreed among the anti-Seward men that Lincoln was definitely stronger than either Cameron or Dayton. It finally was decided that the New Jersey and Pennsylvania delegations would give their first votes in compliment to Dayton and Cameron, respectively, and then join the Lincoln bandwagon.

★ ★ ★

NEXT MORNING Evarts of New York placed Seward in nomination and Norman B. Judd of Illinois performed a similar function in Lincoln's behalf. There were no lengthy speeches, the men making the nominations contenting themselves with the single sentence putting their candidates in the running.

"When the candidates were put in nomination," wrote Halstead, "the only names that produced 'tremendous applause' were those of Seward and Lincoln. Everybody felt that the fight was between them, and yielded accordingly. Mr. Seward was first nominated, and the applause was enthusiastic. The next nomination was that in behalf of Mr. Lincoln, and the response was prodigious, rising and raging beyond the Seward shriek.

"Presently Caleb B. Smith seconded the nomination of Lincoln, and the response was absolutely terrific. It now became the Seward men to make another effort, and Blair of Michigan seconded his nomina- and

'At once there rose so wild a yell
Within that dark and narrow dell,
As all the fiends from heaven that fell
Had pealed the banner cry of Hell.'

★ ★ ★

"THE EFFECT was startling. Hundreds of persons stopped their ears in pain. The shouting was absolutely frantic, shrill and wild. No Commanches or panthers ever struck a higher note or gave to a scream more infernal intensity. Looking from the stage over the vast amphitheater, nothing was to be seen below but thousands of hats —a black, mighty swarm of hats—flying with the velocity of hornets over a mass of human heads, most of the mouths of which as appeared were open. Above, all around the galleries, hats and hand kerchiefs were flying in the tempest together. The wonder of the thing was that the Seward outside pressure should, so far from New York, be so powerful.

★ ★ ★

"NOW THE Abe Lincoln men had to try it again, and Mr. Delano of Ohio, on behalf of a portion of the delegation of that state, seconded the nomination of Lincoln (as 'a man who can split rails and maul Democrats'), and the uproar that followed was beyond description. Imagine all the hogs ever slaughtered in Cincinnati giving their death squeals together and a score of big steam whistles going together (steam at 160 pounds per inch), and you conceive of something of the same nature. I thought the Seward yell could not be surpassed; but the Lincoln boys were clearly ahead, and feeling their victory, as there was a lull in the storm, they took deep breaths all around and gave a concentrated shriek that was positively awful, and accompanied it with stamping that made every plank and pillar in the building quiver . . ."

Three ballots were necessary to decide the nomination. A total of 233 votes was required for a choice. On the first ballot Seward polled 173½ votes to 102 for Lincoln, with Cameron third on 50½. During the taking of the second ballot Cameron's name was withdrawn, and when the totals were added Seward's votes were 184½ and Lincoln 181. The drift then was clear, and the third ballot gave Lincoln 231½ and Seward 180. As the votes were being tallied, and before the official announcement was made, an Ohio delegate, Carter, shouted the announcement that Ohio changed four votes for Lincoln.

PANDEMONIUM then broke loose, salutes were fired, and "a deafening roar and stentorian applause arose from the immense multitude such as had never been equaled on the American continent nor since the day that the walls of Jericho were blown down."

★ ★ ★

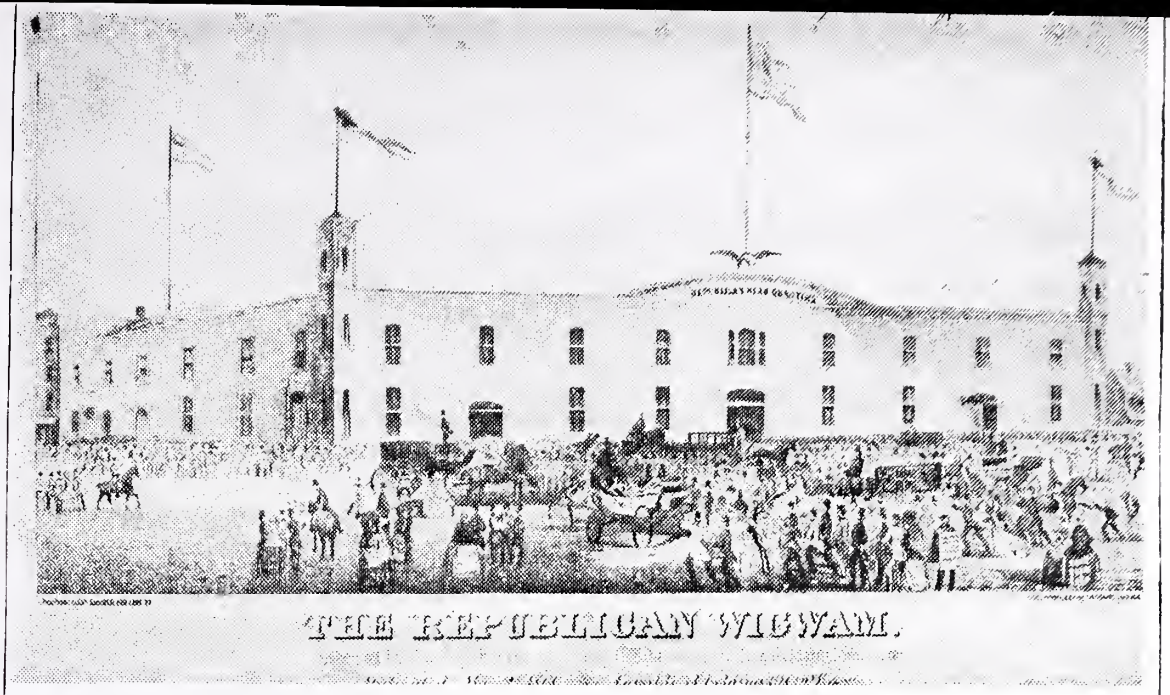
AFTER QUIET was restored, the chairman made the brief announcement:

"Abraham Lincoln of Illinois is selected as your candidate for President of the United States."

Abraham Lincoln received the news of his nomination in Springfield, Ill., his home. The story is told that he was at the office of the State Journal when news came of his victory at Chicago. As the clicking key brought the word of that momentous third ballot, the telegraph superintendent wrote the glad tidings on a slip of paper and dispatched a boy with it to Lincoln. The nominee read it slowly, carefully, unmindful of the happy shouting and confusion about him. Then he remarked quietly:

"There's a little woman down at our house who would like to hear this; I'll go down and tell her."

Thurs., Feb. 12, 1948 St. Louis Globe-Democrat.



Old time print of the historic Wigwam, which was built to house Chicago's first national political convention by the Republican party in 1860. It hangs in the Lincoln room of the University of Chicago library.

1860 Wigwam City's First Historic Convention Arena

Chicago has been the scene of the greatest, historic, political conventions.

Appropriately enough, it first nominated the founder of the Republican party, Abraham Lincoln, in "The Wigwam," at Market and Lake sts., which was erected to hold the largest audience assembled in America up to 1860.

A rare print of the historic Wigwam now hangs in the University of Chicago Lincoln room, one of the chief centers of Lincoln research, along with a number of political mementos of Chicago's first national convention.

Visitors Are Invited

Delegates and visitors to the approaching Republican convention will be invited to visit the Lincoln room during leisure time and will find an interesting contrast between that first and the present conventions.

In 1860, Chicago was the ninth city in the country and only 27 years old, when the Wigwam was built. Its population was 110,000. The first western city selected for a national convention, Chicago built the Wigwam in an "I Will" spirit, despite the 1857 financial panic.

The Wigwam, 184 feet high, had a seating capacity of 10,000 as compared with the International Amphitheater, which will accommodate almost 13,000. The Wigwam stage, with conference rooms on either side, seated 1,000. The main floor, built on an incline, seated 8,000, and the gallery, 33 feet wide on three sides, seated another 1,000.

Convention hall, with a new $350,000 air conditioning system, covers 30,000 square feet in the arena alone. It has approximately 7,500 box, mezzanine, and balcony seats, plus room for 4,500 delegates, alternates, newspaper men, and special guests on the floor.

The University of Chicago picture of the Wigwam depicts the Republican headquarters of "four score and 12 years ago" as a great mass meeting, with thousands of persons clamoring on the outside for their native son, Honest Abe.

Other Mementos Shown

Other political mementos of Chicago's first national convention in the university's collection of Lincoln and Civil War material are a campaign button with an unbearded picture of Lincoln and campaign slogans, campaign flags, broadsides, convention songbooks, proceedings publication, campaign documents, a bookmark, and Currier and Ives political prints by the score.

In the old proceedings publication, the Republican platform reads like an excerpt from the 1952 political philosofy of the Grand Old Party:

"That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the federal government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the system of plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded."

Chicago Sunday Tribune: June 22, 1952
Part 1—Page 14 F

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, TUESDAY, JUNE 3, 1952 10

Lincoln Paid Supporter's Fare To His Nominating Convention

By Jerry Thorp

Abraham Lincoln once wrestled with his conscience to decide whether it was ethical to pay the expenses of a delegate who would support him at the presidential nominating convention.

Lincoln came to the conclusion that such a procedure was not only right—it was indispensable.

His decision perhaps set a precedent for local Eisenhower groups accused of planning all-expense tours for their delegates to meet their candidate before the Republican nominating convention here next month.

Lincoln's personal correspondence reveals that the recipient of his generosity was Mark W. Delahay, one-time Illinois lawyer and politician who in 1859 was living in Leavenworth, Kan.

'AWFULLY BIBULOUS'

Delahay, described by one historian as "distressingly impecunious and awfully bibulous," was Lincoln's host when the latter made an oratorical tour of Kanses in 1859.

Three months later Delahay wrote Lincoln, saying that Kansas probably would send delegates to Chicago instructed for Lincoln. And he could be a delegate too, Delahay added wistfully, if he had money for the trip.

Lincoln replied:

"As to your kind wishes for myself, allow me to say I cannot enter the ring on the money basis—first because, in the main, it is wrong, and secondly, I have not, and cannot get, the money.

CITES EXCEPTIONS

"I say, in the main, the use of money is wrong; but for certain objects, in a political contest, the use of some, is both right and indispensable.

"With me as with yourself, this long struggle has been one of great pecuniary loss. I now distinctly say this: If you shall be appointed a delegate to Chicago, I will furnish $100 to bear the expense of the trip."

KEPT HIS WORD

Delahay, though, met with a double disappointment. He was left off the delegation, which was instructed to vote for William H. Seward and not Lincoln.

He conveyed this distressing information to Lincoln and was told to come to the convention anyway—that Lincoln still would pay the $100.

A record of Lincoln's personal finances show that he kept his word—naturally.

The money apparently was ill-spent, for Delahay later became a source of considerable embarrassment to Lincoln.

In April, 1861, Lincoln appointed Delahay surveyor-general for Kansas and Nebraska and two and a half years later made him U.S. district judge of Kansas.

Delahay's conduct in office was so flagrant that impeachment proceedings were started. The extremely damaging testimony prompted him to resign.

Lincoln wrote off the $100, probably as a bad investment.

THIS WEEK

By Arba N. Moulton, *Editor*

The Republican national convention will open in Chicago Monday, July 7, 1952. The greatest convention ever held was the Republican national convention which opened in this same city May 16, 1860, and nominated Abraham Lincoln for president. It was Chicago's first national convention. It was held in a large frame building erected by Republicans of the city, especially for the occasion, and named the Wigwam. The location was at the corner of Lake and Market streets. it cost $7,000 and would seat 10,000 people. Large as it was it could not accommodate a fifth of the enthusiastic crowd that clamored for admission. It is conservatively estimated that 25,000 wildly cheering Republicans flocked to Chicago to attend this history making convention.

The hotels were packed to the limit. The Tremont House, located on Lake street near State, was headquarters for the Illinois delegation. It had accommodations for 1,500, which was not nearly enough to meet the demand for that week.

William H. Seward was the favorite candidate. New York's 70 delegates were for him to a man, and he expected to receive the nomination on the first or second ballot. The New Yorkers came 2,000 strong and were headed by the famous Dodsworth Band. They took over the Richmond House for their headquarters and made an impressive showing as they marched each morning to the Wigwam.

But those Prairie State backers of Lincoln were not to be awed by any demonstration that the great men from the east could make. Their enthusiasm knew no limit. They cheered and shouted and argued and fought night and day for "Honest Abe." They were so heartily for him, and had such confidence in and respect for him that they would not accept the possibility of his being defeated.

The best report of the convention and the one from which these notes are taken was written by Murat Halstead for the Cincinnati Commercial. He was only 31 at the time, and his brilliant reporting of this convention gave him a national reputation.

Friday, the third day, was set for the nomination. The Seward men were still confident of success. They marched to the Wigwam to the music of the band and the cheering of their followers. The big barracks was packed.. There was not a space in it a foot square unoccupied, and tens of thousands outside were clamoring desperately to squeeze in.

Everybody was impatient to begin and as soon as order was obtained William M. Evarts of New York nominated Mr. Seward and Norman Judd of Illinois nominated Mr. Lincoln. The applause, when Seward was named was enthusiastic, when Judd named Lincoln it was prodigious, rising and raging far beyond the Seward shriek. Then Calib Smith of Indiana seconded the nomination of Lincoln and the response was absolutely terrific.

It now became the Seward men to make another effort, and when Governor Blair of Michigan seconded Seward's nomination the effect was startling. Hundreds of persons stopped their ears in pain. The shouting was absolutely frantic, shrill and wild. Above and all around the galleries hats and handkerchiefs were flying in the tempest. The wonder of it was that the Seward pressure could, so far from New York, be so powerful.

The Lincoln men were in no mood to let the Seward men get away with such a wild demonstration, and when Mr. Delano of Ohio seconded the nomination of Lincoln on behalf of a portion of the delegation of his state, the uproar was beyond description. It did not seem that the Seward yell could be surpassed, but the Lincoln boys were clearly ahead, and feeling their victory, took deep breaths all around and gave a concentrated shriek that was positively awful. They accompanied it with a stamping that made every plank and pillar in the building quiver.

The New York, Michigan and Wisconsin delegations sat together and were very quiet. Many of their faces whitened as the Lincoln yawp swelled into a wild hozanna of victory. The Michigan delegation was with Seward first, last and all the time. Perhaps Governor Blair was banking on a cab-

(Continued on page 8)

THIS WEEK

(Continued from Page 1)

inet position if Seward became president. Have always thought the Michigan delegation might have been a little more friendly to a worthy neighbor; and this goes also for Wisconsin. Indiana another neighbor, gave her 26 votes to Lincoln on the first ballot.

Twelve candidates were placed in nomination, but after the first ballot it was plain that the race was between Seward and Lincoln. The whole number of votes cast was 465. Necessary to choice 233. Seward had 173½, Lincoln 102.

Then was the excitement most intense. The convention proceeded at once to a second ballot. The partisans of the various candidates were strung up to such a high pitch of excitement as to render them incapable of patience, and cries of "Call the roll" were fairly hissed through their teeth.

The second ballot spelled the doom of Seward. It was announced amid tremendous applause, — Seward 184½, Lincoln 181. While Seward still held the lead it was evident that the reserve votes were with Lincoln.

The third ballot was taken amid excitement that tested the nerves of all. Lincoln made further gains and it was whispered around that he was the coming man. Halstead added up the Lincoln vote as it was given, and it totalled 231½. 233 votes were needed. Hundreds of pencils told the same story. The man to end the suspense was Carter, chairman of the delegation from Ohio. He mounted a chair and shouted: "Mr. Chairman, I rise to announce a change of four votes from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln."

That did it. Abraham Lincoln was the Republican nominee for President of the United States. There was a noise in the Wigwam like the rush of a great wind in the van of a storm,—and in another breath the storm was there. The cheering inside was taken up by the multitude outside with the energy of insanity.

Others shouted for recognition to change the votes of their states, and when the final vote was declared Mr. Evarts of New York, with sadness in his voice, moved that the nomination be made unanimous. Hanibal Hamlin of Maine was speedily nominated for Vice President and the convention adjourned.

Columns more could be written about this great convention of 1860. But now the Republican party is about to nominate another candidate in this same city of Chicago. Is it possible that another Lincoln may be brought forth by the action of its delegates? Let us fervently hope that such may be the case.

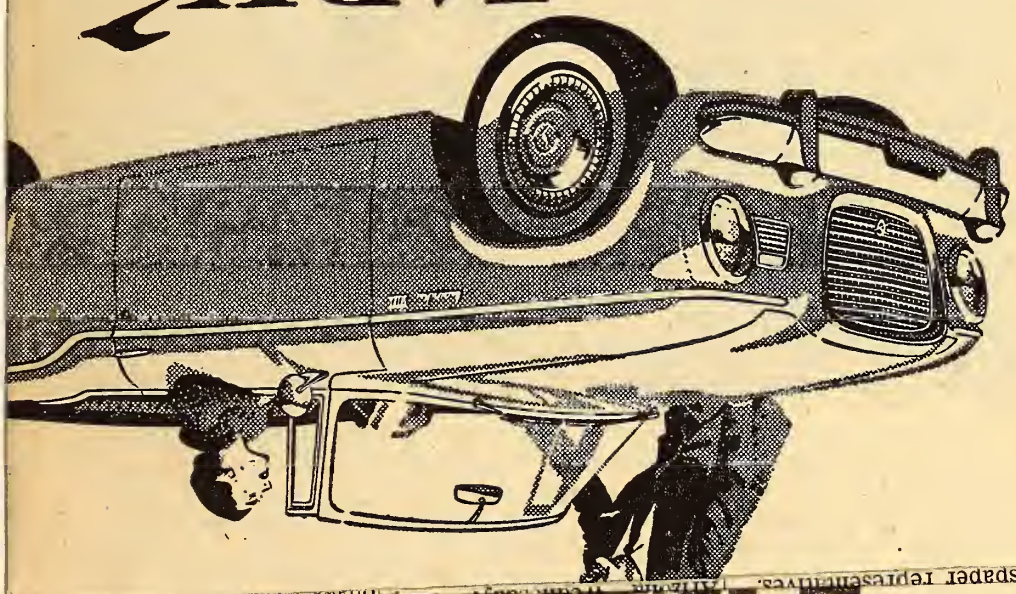
"Then on to the holy Republican strife!
And again, for a future as fair as the morning,
For the sake of that freedom more precious than life,
Ring out the grand anthem of Liberty's warning!"

Convention 1960

Chicago Daily Tribune
May 14, 1960

TOMORROW—
another
LITTLE
FOOLER

The $1,000 puzzle
sensation you
get only in the
CHICAGO
SUNDAY TRIBUNE



THE LARK BY STUD

Come In And Drive The Only Car That Offers So Much Choice For

ONLY THE LARK offers you six stunning styles, seven vivacious colors.

ONLY THE LARK offers two great engines (V-8 or "6"), three transmissions, seven axle ratios. What'll you have?

ONLY THE LARK offers the shortest overall length (more maneuverable), yet provides the best combination of interior dimensions for seating space.

ONLY THE LARK offers fabulous features from air conditioning to windsh

ONLY THE LARK . . . for yo for anything less? Drive it and see! Co a delightful demonstration!

SEE THE NEW CHAMP . . . HANDSOME, HUSKY, LOWEST-PRICE PICKUP!

LITTLE
FOOLER

(always worth at least one thousand in cash)

He says you can't solve his tantalizing

puzzle with the maddening clews.

newspaper representatives.

said: "I believe I ought to make it perfectly clear exactly what our Supreme court has made clear—that the proper business contained in the court's order today is restricted to a finding that that ordinance is unconstitutional as to the occupation complained of in this complaint."

May Arrest Others

He said that when solicitors of some other occupation might be arrested under the ordinance, the court might hold the ordinance to be unconstitutional.

Reuben told the court that

The students had massed
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pin, commander in chief
Algeria, assisted in a flag
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a review of the troops de-
e the uproar.

Lincoln Leaves Prairie for Presidency

Political Flames in Wigwam Hall Shrewdly Stoked

BY ALEX SMALL

TENSION held silent the crowd which in the noon hour of May 18, 100 years ago, stood in Chicago's Market street and spread around the corner into Lake street. It hemmed in two sides of the Wigwam, a huge wooden structure recently built to accommodate the second national convention of the Republican party.

Inside the Wigwam the convention was choosing its candidate for President. To the crowd this was a sporting event; hence the jubilation when the little cannon on the roof of the Wigwam barked out the news that the candidate had been chosen. Men forgot that they were sweltering in frock coats and tight trousers strapped beneath their boots. The women skipped about in their voluminous skirts and petticoats.

As word spread that the man chosen was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, local pride raised rejoicing to a higher pitch. Some groups stayed out of the swirl. They likely were visitors from Wisconsin, which had been strong for the beaten favorite, Sen. William H. Seward of New York. His followers, like Seward himself, took defeat hard.

Some individuals saw little reason for joy. But the great majority were lightheartedly unaware of future crisis.

Should one worry because the Republican party was avowedly sectional, and would impose the rule of the north on the south? Would that not be all to the good by taking some of the starch out of that southern arrogance? What of it that the cotton states were saying they would leave the Union if the Republicans elected a President? They had been threatening to secede as long as anyone could remember; that cry of "Wolf!" had been heard too often.

As THE TRIBUNE commented in a 1910 editorial commemorating the 50th anniversary of the event:

"Few, if any, of them dreamed that the man whose nomination they had secured and applauded was to lead the nation thru the defeats and triumphs of a long and bloody civil war.

"Had they been able to read the future, there would have been less enthusiasm. There would have been a solemn consideration, not merely of the political availability of candidates, but also of the grave question as to which of them would be best qualified to pass thru the fiery ordeal that was awaiting him if elected.

"If that thought had dominated the convention, Lincoln might not have been the nominee."

Since 1832 there had been national political conventions, but none had created the commotion this one did. This was partly because it was the first convention in the west, altho there had been one in Cincinnati. Many easterners, enticed by tales of the rich and rising west, wanted to see for themselves if the people of the prairies were really human. The railways, after some arm twisting, agreed to a bargain convention rate of $15 round trip between Chicago and Buffalo. [What a returning delegate who live in Bread Loaf, Vt., was to do after he reached Buffalo, is not recorded.] About 30,000 visitors came to Chicago, a city with less that 110,000 population. The hotels profiteered on them, some visitors alleged.

With rare exceptions, it appears that the lodging house keepers of Chicago did not go beyond the standard rates of the time, which for a bed and all meals could be as low

Room, Board Costs Visitors $1.50

Chicago had only a little more than 100,000 population in 1860 when 30,000 visitors streamed in for the city's first political convention. Boarding houses charged as little as $1.50 a day for room and board. Those which charged $3.50 ranked as luxury hotels.

as $1.50 a day, and rise to $3.50 in luxury hotels like the Tremont and the Richmond.

What politicans said before the event shows little awareness of the possible grave consequences of this convention. Instead, the excitement, which spread from politicians thru the public, rose because the opposition to the Democratic party stood an excellent chance of returning to power after eight years of being out in the cold. The vision of rich plums banished any intimations of tragedy.

The almost 10,000 spectators in the Wigwam were disappointed if they expected a long, bitter fight for the nomination. Despite the bustle and uproar up on the platform, where the 465 delegates and some 60 reporters were exposed to public view, everything went as if it had been rehearsed—or almost so. All were agreed that it was Seward against the field, and that he might win on the first ballot. The opposition had the choice of uniting on Lincoln, or Edward Bates of Missouri, or Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, or Salmon P. Chase of Ohio.

Behind the big five in the limelight, there lurked in the wings an indeterminate number of favorite sons and dark horses, any one of whom might have been summoned to the center of the stage if the convention had gone into prolonged deadlock. Mentioned most often of these were:

Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky; John McLean of Ohio, a United States Supreme court justice; Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio; John M. Read of Pennsylvania; William L. Dayton of New Jersey; Jacob Collamer, senator from Vermont; Nathaniel P. Banks, governor of Massachusetts, and W. Pitt Fessenden, senator from Maine.

Wade had a faction in Chicago ready to take advantage

The Wigwam, a frame building erected at the intersection of what now is Wacker drive and Lake street especially to accommodate the Republican national convention of 1860.

of any break. Fessenden had said that he did not want the nomination with an emphasis which indicated that he meant it. Still, he was most likely to become the choice if the big five had canceled each other out.

What happened in the Wigwam on that Friday morning, May 18, 1860, was a great surprise to the public, but it little startled the bosses and manipulators. There was, however, a small margin of uncertainty because delegations could not be as well controled as they were later, and some independent spirits simply refused to be pushed around.

The first ballot, taken shortly after 10 o'clock, showed that the energetic work of the Lincoln faction had paid off. The figures were: Seward, 173½; Lincoln, 102; Cameron,

Telegram Puzzles Biographers

Lincoln has puzzled biographers by the telegram he sent the men working for him in Chicago: "I authorize no bargains and will be bound by none." Such independence could not be afforded by any man who hoped to win the nomination. Judge Davis reacted by promptly promising big jobs to two men from Indiana, making sure that that somewhat uncertain delegation would be solid for Lincoln.

50½; Chase, 49; Bates, 48. McLean, Dayton, and Collamer also got some votes. So three important results had been attained by the dickering which had gone on in "smoke filled rooms":

1. Seward had been stopped, or at least had not gone over on the first ballot. 2. The formidable strength predicted for Bates, Cameron, and Chase was not developing. 3. Lincoln was the preferred candidate of those opposed to Seward.

The second ballot blasted any hopes for Seward running away with the nomination. He got only 184½ ballots, while Lincoln had raced to 181. On the third ballot the Seward rout was complete. Lincoln had 231½, only 1½ short of the 233 ballots needed for nomination. The next ballott would have put Lincoln over, but there was no need for it. Joseph Medill, an editor of the Press and Tribune, who later was to become owner and publisher of THE CHICAGO TRIBUHE, found a short cut to nomination.

Medill, one of the two members of the Lincoln coterie who may be credited with idealism in their devotion to the leader, left the Illinois delegation where he belonged and took a seat among the men from Ohio. Joshua Giddings, an Ohio delegate, peremptorily ordered Medill to get out, but the latter was no one to be disturbed at being called a gate crasher.

So he stayed to nag wavering Ohio delegates over to Lincoln's side. With the announcement of the almost decisive third ballot, Medill turned to David Cartter, the Ohio chairman, and, without the slightest authority to make promises in Lincoln's name, said: "If you can throw the Ohio delegation to Lincoln, Chase can have anything he wants."

Eager to rush to the side of victory, Cartter climbed onto his seat, and stuttered: "I-I a-a-rise, Mr. Chairman, to a-a-nounce the c-c-change of f-four votes, from Mr. Chase to Abraham Lincoln."

That did it. The man who had been an obscure prairie lawyer now had begun the climb from which he could not turn back—to power, blood, anguish, and glory.

Other delegations fell in behind the winner so that on the altered count of the third ballot Lincoln had 364 votes. That, in the indiscriminate huzzaing which follows a Presidential nomination, a hundred delegates should have refused to join the victory procession is testimony to Seward's capacity for inspiring devotion. The New York senator's manager, Thurlow Weed, reproached and pitied himself for having bungled affairs and having been outsmarted by Judge David Davis, Lincoln's manager.

Lincoln remained in Springfield during the convention, and so escaped the accusation of having any direct part in the tactics which obtained him the nomination. When the age of indiscriminate glorification had passed [say, about 1920], historians appeared to imply that so intelligent a man, with his long experience in politics, must have had a fairly accurate idea of how his partisans were acting in Chicago.

Generally accepted as the supreme instance of Lincoln's astuteness [an unsympathetic critic might say foxiness] was his answer to Judge Davis' query as to promising the job as secretary of the treasury to Simon Cameron if Cameron's state, Pennsylvania, would swing to Lincoln.

Lincoln's answer, "I authorize no bargains and will be bound by none," could seem to an idealistic school boy like a statement of unbending integrity. It could also seem as if he were giving up the struggle, since no one knew better than he that deals would have to be made if he were to win. It threw his partisans in Chicago into disarray until Davis raised a voice of practical political sense:

"Lincoln ain't here and don't know what we have to meet. So we'll go ahead as if we hadn't heard from him, and he must ratify it!"

In the sequel Lincoln did honor the pledges Davis and others made in his name and without his knowledge. That leaves the "no bargains" telegram as one of the innumerable Lincoln enigmas. It was, as one pleases, either a hasty, ill considered first reflex, or an example of extraordinary shrewdness.

Of the Lincoln faction at Chicago, which certainly deserves credit for having engineered the nomination, THE TRIBUNE, in its anniversary editorial said: "They were a little unscrupulous in some of their methods, or at least they seemed so to the friends of Sen. Seward."

So the charge that the Lincoln nomination was obtained by trickery had not been put down 50 years later, and is raised even today as an academic historical question.

On almost every detail rises the delicate question of where honest political strife ends and sharp practice begins. Seward and some of his friends seemed to think there was something dishonorable about opposing him. This shows that he and they were behind the times. In the early years of the Republic, probably no one would have challenged Seward's right to the post. He deserved it by his talents and his conspicuous position.

In a similar situation, men like Jefferson, Adams, Madison, or Monroe probably would not have dreamed of going against Seward. But since the convention system had been instituted in 1832, the concern of all parties had been to choose not the ablest man but a winner. The great statesmen of Lincoln's youth—Clay, Calhoun, Webster—all failed to get the Presidency. No one expected Lincoln to acknowledge his inferior position and bow out before Seward.

The crushing weapon used by Lincoln's faction was the argument that Lincoln could win and Seward could not. Its truth or falsity could not be demonstrated, but it was seed which fell on fertile ground. Even some of Seward's friends privately were dubious of his strength in the neces-

Douglas Proves Boon to Abe

Lincoln climbed to the Presidency on the shoulders of Stephen A. Douglas, who brought up the slavery question, in which Lincoln was to show his ability as orator and debater. Douglas scared the Republican convention with the prospect he would win many northern states as an anti-slavery candidate, the touch which ruined Seward's chances and opened the way for Lincoln.

sary doubtful states—Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.

The argument alone would not have done the job without tactics, and here arise the questionable points. Lincoln's committee promised just about anything to any delegate who might vote for their man, but in this they were no different from the others. The acts which varying opinions might judge as ingenious, clever, slick, unfair, or underhanded, were the following:

1. Norman Judd, one of the earliest Lincoln supporters, was pretty sly about manipulating the national committee into picking Chicago for the convention so that Lincoln could have the benefit of being on his own ground. The Seward forces should have been alert to the danger; they let Judd gull them into thinking that Illinois had no candidate of its own.

2. On nomination day the placing of the delegations was manipulated to favor Lincoln. New York, Seward's battle phalanx, was pushed out to the rim of the platform, far from any wavering delegations that might be influenced at the last moment. Important and uncertain Pennsylvania and New Jersey were wedged between Indiana and Illinois, both strong for Lincoln. Judd contrived this dodge also, but some credit for it was claimed by Medill. Neither indicated they thought this cute trick unsporting.

3. The Illinois delegation was to present Lincoln's name, but had arranged to have it seconded by someone in every other delegation where anyone could be found to do it. The object was to give the hesitant the impression that Lincoln's strength was much greater than it really was.

4. The Seward cheering section of 1,000 was muscled out of the place in the galleries to which their tickets entitled them. Two Lincoln committeemen, Jesse Fell and Ward Lamon, found a printer able to duplicate the Seward tickets. These two, with assistance from other Lincoln men, spent a good part of the night before nomination day forging official signatures to the counterfeit tickets. Then they recruited off the streets enough idlers who, for a modest fee or just for fun, agreed to be at the Wigwam before the Seward men. When the latter appeared, they were refused admittance because their places had been taken by the holders of fake tickets.

5. This hired Lincoln claque went into action with deafening roars whenever they saw the signal of a handkerchief waved by Burton Cook, an Illinois delegate.

Surely, one might think, mature citizens, invested with a solemn responsibility, would not let the shouting of a crowd of hired bums influence their choice. But Judge Davis, Lamon, Fell, and other Lincolnites knew what they were about.

Almost all American males of any social standing at that time were heavy drinkers. From the moment they stepped off the trains, almost all the delegates had been living it up in the grog shops and haunts of sin which abounded in Chicago. The night before the day of decision had been particularly exhausting, with delegates reeling back and forth between the Termont House, the Richmond House, and the Briggs House, where the rivel committees plied them with free liquor. So, on that momentous Friday morning, it was safe to say that a majority of them were still half drunk or suffering from ferocious hangovers. Their jittery nerves would fly into tatters before the cyclone of noise organized by Fell and Lamon, and they would be ready for anything to end their misery.

The story of what really happened at the 1860 conven-

Counterfeiting Plays a Role

A legend arose that Lincoln was forced on the convention by the spontaneous acclomation of the public in the galleries. No doubt some delegates were influenced by the popular din. The Lincoln partisans hired street idlers and got them into the Wigwam on counterfeit tickets to which official signatures had been forged.

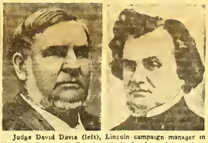
tion did not become known until long afterward. The popular belief, in the years of unreasoning deification which followed Lincoln's violent death, was of a stubborn and shortsighted convention yielding to the irresistible voice of the people. In it was seen the hand of God, as if both Lincoln and the convention by divine intervention had become prescient of the tragedy to come.

By 1810 some defense of the nomination was evidently felt necessary, such as we find in THE TRIBUNE's anniversary editorial:

"It may be, as was asserted recently by a New York paper, that some of the means adopted at Chicago by Mr. Lincoln's friends to bring about his nomination 'might hardly be called honorable in this day.' But if that be so, in this rare instance the end justified the means. It would be going too far to say that the unity of the Republic was preserved thru the wise choice made by the Chicago convention, but it is easy to imagine the direful mishaps that would have followed the nomination of a feeble or a headstrong President."

And, of course, it was entirely possible that Bates would have been feeble, and Seward headstrong.

The Lincolnites' tactics, sporting or not, were not the deciding factor on that morning of May 18, 1860, altho Medill thought them highly important in reminiscing com-



Judge David Davis (left), Lincoln campaign manager in 1860, and Stephen A. Douglas, rival who figured in making Lincoln President.

placently on them in his later years. The obvious victor at Chicago was Judge Davis, by his effective propaganda against Seward, and by the deals and dickering with the various delegations. Lincoln's nomination came out of Davis' smoke filled room in the Tremont House.

Prelude to solemn events, the convention of 1860 was anything but solemn, and a special touch of buffoonery arose from the perennial hostility between westerners and easterners. Some delegates from Illinois and Kansas complained with comic indignation that Seward's supporters from New York City were usurping western prerogatives by being just as drunken, profane, and rowdy as the westerners. The New Yorkers completed their wrecking of the image of the citified, stuffy, effeminate easterner by "singing songs not found in hymn books."

The path to Lincoln's nomination was paved by himself, thru his character and thru a series of events which tied political issues to him. This takes us back to his early years.

During his poverty stricken youth in southern Indiana [1816-1830], Lincoln had seen that the only way out of a life of pioneer hardships was thru the law, and that almost inevitably meant mixing in politics. He was already involved even before he was admitted to the bar and went to live in Springfield about 1838. His great admiration was for Henry Clay, and this naturally meant adhesion to Clay's party, the Whigs.

The Whigs were then the current form of the opposition to the Democratic party. When Lincoln first became an active politician by getting elected to the state legislature in 1834, the Whigs were flourishing, and he could look forward to a long, fruitful, and probably humdrum career with them.

The Whigs won the 1848 election, but then the party began to decay swiftly. It could not stand the impact of explosive issues, all of them aspects of the central issue of slavery. This "peculiar institution" had been accepted as a distasteful reality in all the northern nonslavery states which wanted the question swept under the rug and kept there. Some uncompromising abolitionists were considered dangerous fanatics. One of them, Elijah Lovejoy, was lynched in 1837 by an enraged mob in Alton.

Enormous territory was wrested from Mexico by war, and the organization of this territory brought up the slavery

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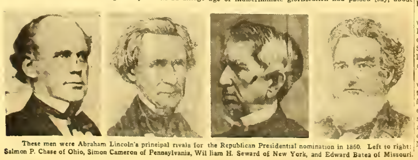


These men were Abraham Lincoln's principal rivals for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1860. Left to right: Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, William H. Seward of New York, and Edward Bates of Missouri.

Starts Down Path to Anguish, Glory

Abraham Lincoln as he appeared 16 days after his nomination for President by the Republicans in Chicago May 18, 1860. This photograph is the first of four poses by Alexander Hesler on June 3, 1860. For Lincoln's campaign publicity 100,000 of these prints were distributed.

G.O.P. Convenes in Chicago, Pins Hopes on Abe

[Cont'd from preceding page]

issue in an ugly form. Northerners who had been complacent about slavery as long as it was kept out of sight began saying it was morally wrong and a disgrace to the nation. Few were ready to shoulder muskets to free the Negroes, but an increasing number were saying that the evil must be kept in check and not allowed to move into the new territories.

An answering new temper had arisen in the south. In the heroic days of the Revolutionary war and the framing of the Constitution, almost all thoughtful southerners had been apologetic about slavery, even when they profited from it, and looked to its gradual disappearance. The invention of the cotton gin and the systematic cultivation of cotton plantations by slave gangs blasted that hope. The "peculiar institution" became rooted in the economic life of the south, and the once apologetic southerners became cocky about it.

Devoted in good part to evangelical forms of Christianity, their clergy easily found texts to prove slavery in accord with the devine will. By inference, it was not a tolerated evil, nor even an evil at all. It was a positive good, not merely to the small class of slave owners, but to the whole south, and—so John Calhoun maintained—to the slaves themselves. Far from being checked, it should be spread as widely as possible. In any case, the southerners asserted again and again, they would not allow the "evil bigots" of the north to wreck the "superior civilization" which the south had erected on the base of Negro slavery.

So differing views on an economic and social question had shifted on each side into a conviction of righteousness.

Lincoln's hero, Henry Clay, and his Whig party, accomplished their last great feat in pushing thru the set of laws which became known collectively as the Compromise of 1850. Once again it was announced that the slavery question was "settled for all time." But it was settled only partially and for the moment. The compromise included a fugitive slave law which many northerners found odious. The Whigs trimmed their sails on this hot question and presently trimmed the party out of existence. Now arose the new, vigorous Free Soil party, consecrated to defying the fugitive slave law and checking the spread of slavery.

Southerners were little disposed to take the Free Soil agitation meekly. They had adopted a maxim of American business and industry, that an enterprise cannot stand still; it must expand or decay. Slavery, therefore, must expand or it was on the road to extinction.

The passions which smoldered on both sides of the Ohio river burst into fierce flame when the most colorful figure then on the national political scene, Sen. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, brought the Kansas-Nebraska bill into the Senate on Jan. 23, 1854.

The bill repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which prohibited slavery north of the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes. Slavery was to be allowed in any territory which permitted it by "popular sovereignty."

Douglas' motives for this dramatic gesture never have been explained satisfactorily. Maybe a political-financial deal was involved, for even senators were not too scrupulous, and Douglas, an extravagant spender, often was hard up. Maybe it was pure longing for the knockdown-and-dragout fight which he knew was sure to follow. A psychologist might say that it was a will to suicide, an expression of the death wish.

In fact it was that, whatever the intention. For the rest of his life Douglas was to struggle vainly against the ruin of his hopes. Unwittingly he was squaring his broad shoulders for an obscure colleague of his at the Springfield bar, Abraham Lincoln, to mount to the Presidency which he himself so fiercely coveted.

Out of political retirement came Lincoln to enter a situation which fate seemed to have made for him. He did not need to "play politics" because with burning sincerity he considered slavery a moral evil, believed that its spread could and should be checked, and hoped that it eventually would be wiped out. At once he became a leader in the only effective way possible, by expressing eloquently and tersely what the majority felt obscurely. Never did he get so far out in front that his troops would refuse to follow because they could not see where he was heading.

In politics even a genius needs an organization, and presently Lincoln was to find it in the Republican party. It began coalescing out of fragments in 1854. Into it went elements which had no common bond except that they were against the extension of slavery, hence against the Democratic party along with Douglas and his Kansas-Nebraska bill.

Here former Free Soilers met with radical abolitionists, Whigs leaving their dying party, Democrats who no longer could stomach Douglas and the southern dominance of their party, and even—little comfort as they might find in the association—members of the American or Know-Nothing party. This last, the name of which indicates that it cultivated an air of being a secret conspiracy, was a movement of "protection" for "native Americans" against foreigners.

One year after the founding of the Republican party, Lincoln still thought of himself as a Whig, and as such lost the 1855 election to the senate from Illinois.

Evidently it was not sure, even to his clear sight, that the Whig party was really moribund and not just in a slump, and who were these Republicans? Scattered malcontents, who got together here and there to voice indignation, or the embryo of an effective fighting organization?

Other people had no doubt about putting Lincoln in the Republican category, for the party at its first national convention in Philadelphia on June 17, 1856, gave Lincoln 110 votes on the first ballot for the Vice Presidential nomination. This nugatory prize really went to William L. Dayton of New Jersey, chosen running mate to John C. Fremont of California.

For the first time Lincoln had been brought on to the national political scene, and evidently some people, even if he himself was not yet of the number, thought of him as a possible President.

The situation was there, and so was the man. All that was needed was the big break. It came in July of 1858, when Douglas, continuing his unconscious role of making another man President, returned from Washington to Illinois to seek reelection.

Until 1913, senators were chosen by the original constitutional method, so that it was a question of electing a state legislature which in turn would elect the senator. Douglas therefore was speaking directly for legislative candidates and only indirectly for himself, and so was Lincoln, who had been picked by the Republicans to oppose Douglas. Lincoln's coalition of Republicans, Whigs, and others polled 4,000 votes more than Douglas' Democrats, but the latter, by the freaks of apportionment, got 54 legislators to 46 for Lincoln. Douglas therefore was reelected.

It was a worse than pyrrhic victory, for the Little Giant had made two capital errors. He first had let slip the opportunity to join the Republicans, as many of his fellow Democrats had done. This was no mere fanciful possibility. Douglas, after being the darling of the southerners for a while, had broken with them when they went too far and was in open feud with President James Buchanan. He was in danger of being read out of, or splitting, his own party.

The prospect of Douglas turning Republican gave Lincoln and his friends a genuine scare. "It is asking too much of human nature," wrote State Auditor Jesse K. Dubois to Sen. Lyman Trumbull, "to now surrender to Judge Douglas . . . to quickly let him step foremost in our ranks now and make us all take back seats."

Lincoln was more alarmed by the chance that Douglas, in his new role of anti-southern Democrat, would break the Republican party in two. In writing to Trumbull, he said: "As yet I have heard of no Republican here going over to Douglas, but if the Tribune [New York] continues to din his praises into the ears of its five or ten thousand Republican readers in Illinois, it is more than can be hoped that all will stand firm."

Either way, with Douglas joining the Republicans or the Republicans joining him, there could be no question of which would be the major partner. He was powerful and a unit; the party was weak and inchoate. As a Republican, Douglas might have done no better for himself than he actually did, and he might well have wrecked the party, but he certainly would also have wrecked Lincoln's chances of acquiring its leadership.

No tutelary spirit stood by Douglas to warn him of the mortal danger in the gaunt lawyer of Springfield. So he made the error of letting himself be enticed into the famous debates of 1858. His position was difficult; he could not seem to be running away from Lincoln. Yet Lincoln had everything to gain from the debates and Douglas nothing. A sure instinct of self-preservation would have made him shun a direct clash with Lincoln, whatever the risk.

The Democratic press poured scorn on Lincoln's appearance and professed to find him a poor debater, but this only helped to confirm the popular image of the obscure prairie lawyer standing up to the most formidable orator of the land and slugging it out toe to toe. Now Lincoln was a national figure and definitely a possible President.

It is not known when Lincoln seriously began thinking he might win the prize, but from the end of the debates on he acted like a contender for the nomination. He did it in the most astute way possible, by constant travel and talk, letting the party members feel the quality of his personality and acquire the notion that he was available.

In 1859 Lincoln traveled more than 4,000 miles outside of Illinois, to Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Kansas and delivered 23 major political speeches. One last and highly important task remained, to make those supercilious easterners take him seriously. This he did with his highly successful Cooper Union speech Feb. 27, 1860.

Lincoln followed the Cooper Union speech with a triumphal tour of New England, where he addressed responsive audiences at Concord, Dover, Exeter, and Manchester, in New Hampshire; at Providence and Woonsocket in Rhode Island; at Hartford, Meriden, New Haven, Norwich, and Bridgeport in Connecticut. At the convention which was to meet in two months, the important delegations from New England would not be asking, "Who is this man Lincoln?"

Historians, examining the question of how and why Lincoln was nominated, find the chief determining factor in the man himself. Reconstructing how Lincoln must have looked to his contemporaries before the Civil war is an almost impossible feat of the imagination, so much having accumulated around the name later. We can be sure, however, that they were convinced that he meant what he said, that slavery should and could be checked, and that he had the strength of will to do it, given the power.

The sobriquet, "Honest Abe," also carried weight. The delegates of 1860, if they thought about it at all, could not have supposed it meant that he was punctilious about paying all his bills. Plenty of them were that.

The Chicago Press and TRIBUNE came out for Lincoln on Feb. 16, 1860, after some earlier intimations of liking his candidacy. To defend his newspaper lagging behind some downstate in being for Lincoln, Medill gave a curious explanation—that this was a preconcerted plan, to have the Lincoln boom gradually surge up in small communities, so that the indorsement of the most influential newspaper in Chicago would come with explosive force.

Lincoln, of course, needed devoted followers to win the nomination, some of whom were not modest in claiming their share of glory. One of them, William Herndon, was actuated by purely unselfish devotion. Of the others, fairness requires saying that the motives were mixed. They likely thought Lincoln was the best man. Of these "original Lincoln men" one historian's list is as follows:

O. H. Browning, Judge David Davis, Jesse K. Dubois, Jesse Fell, Ozias M. Hatch, William H. Herndon, Norman B. Judd, Gustavus Koerner, Ward Lamon, Stephen T. Logan, R. J. Oglesby, Gen. John M. Palmer, and Leonard Swett.

Which of these men had been Lincoln's Warwick? The question was asked in a generation which understood the allusion to the 15th century English kingmaker. For an answer, we may consider a point which loomed large before the Republican delegates of 1860. That was the opposition. The Democratic convention at Charleston, S. C., had disbanded with no nominations made. The conclusion, we should imagine, was that the Democrats had split and that any Republican could win.

That would have removed all objections to Seward, and his nomination would have been inevitable. But that is not the way Republican leaders reasoned. They were sure that Douglas would be nominated by some faction or party, and that since he was definitely established as an anti-slavery man after his rejection at Charleston, he would be more formidable than ever in the north. At least he would be strong enough to carry some northern states and throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Therefore the Republican nominee could not be just anyone; he had to be the strongest man "available," and that turned out to be Lincoln. Douglas was in that strange symmetry of the one sinking that the other might rise. Now we can answer the question: did any man, besides himself, have any decisive part in making Lincoln President? The answer is yes. And that man's name was Stephen Arnold Douglas.

Takes Hard Sell to Nominate Abe

The delegates in 1860 had no notion that Lincoln would prove to be a man of destiny. Many knew of him and admired him, but they needed to be convinced that he was a winner. It was a hard sell, managed by Judge David Davis, who worked on hesitant delegates with cajolery, promises, and liquor in his room in the Tremont House.

The Tremont House, one of the principal hotels in 1860, stood at Lake and Dearborn streets.

Build Wigwam for Convenion

The huge pineboard Wigwam, at Market and Lake streets, was built by public subscription especially for the convention. It was the main exhibit the city had to offer strangers. Many visitors complained of Chicago's strong stench, and the hordes of fat, well fed rats.

Puts All Rivals in Cabinet

When Lincoln became President in 1861, he appointed to his cabinet all four of the men who had been his principal rivals for the Republican Presidential nomination the preceding year. William H. Seward of New York became secretary of state; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, secretary of the treasury; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, secretary of war; and Edward Bates of Missouri, attorney general. In the cases of Bates, Cameron, and Chase, he was ratifying bargains by which he had said he would not be bound.

Joseph Medill (left), then Washington correspondent of The Tribune, who found a short cut to Lincoln's nomination on the third ballot; Norman B. Judd (center), who manipulated Republican national committee into bringing the convention to Lincoln's own ground, and Ward Lamon, who helped with counterfeit ticket scheme to thwart Seward cheering section.

The Republican national convention of 1860, which nominated Lincoln for President, in session in the Wigwam, a huge frame building which stood on what is now Wacker drive at Lake street.

The Louisville Times
July 20, 1960

YOU ARE THERE . . . THE 1860 G.O.P. CONVENTION

FLASH...

Abe Lincoln Wins On The Third Ballot

By ARTHUR EDSON
Associated Press Writer

(Arthur Edson looks back to the most historic G.O.P. convention of all. On May 18, 1860, Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln for president. Here's the scene, as it might have appeared to an A.P. man of a century ago, when Lincoln was just another upstart politician, and no one could have guessed he had a fateful date with history.)

Chicago, May 18, 1860—Abraham Lincoln, a little known country lawyer whose main claim to fame is a 2-year term in Congress, today dramatically and unexpectedly won the Republican nomination for president.

In the wildest confusion, the 51-year-old Lincoln was named on the third ballot, beating the favorite, William H. Seward of New York.

Ten thousand screaming partisans filled the huge, frame barn, called the Wigwam, built especially for this occasion. And when their man finally made the grade, they went mad.

Some howled. Some cried. Some laughed. Some hugged and pummeled each other. Some, who had obviously been sampling Chicago's celebrated firewater, shoved through the jammed aisles whooping and hollering.

Judge Stephen T. Logan, a Lincoln supporter, was spotted standing on a table, waving his silk hat. Suddenly he crashed it down on the head of a delegate struggling by beneath.

A sentinel on the skylight kept track of the goings-on below. When Lincoln won, he bawled, "Old Abe! Hallelujah!"

A cannon boomed. Steam whistles all over town blew their loudest. Chicago became bedlam.

Rarely in the 79-year history of this Government has there been such a victory.

Most experts had figured Seward was a shoo-in. And if he faltered, such nationally known men as Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania and Edward Bates of Missouri were considered good bets.

But except for Seward, none had a chance.

With 233 votes needed to nominate, here's the way the balloting went:

First Ballot—Seward 173½ votes, Lincoln 102, Cameron 50½, Chase 49, Bates 48. The rest of the votes were scattered among seven other candidates.

Second Ballot—Seward 184½ votes, Lincoln 181.

Third Ballot—Lincoln, 231½ votes; Seward slipped to 180.

As the balloting neared the end, reporters noticed Joseph Medill, Washington correspondent for The Chicago Tribune and a strong Lincoln man, whispering with David Cartter, chairman of the Ohio delegation.

Cartter, who has a speech impediment, climbed on his chair and demanded attention.

The big hall quickly hushed.

"I rise (eh), Mr. Chairman (eh)," Cartter said, "to announce the c-c-change of f-f-four votes from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln."

It wasn't much of a speech, but it put Lincoln over — and turned loose pandemonium.

State after state clamored for recognition.

A motion was made to make the nomination unanimous. In the excitement it still isn't clear whether or not it passed.

Thurlow Weed, one of the nation's most astute politicians, had set up a Seward headquarters at the Richmond House. Champagne was served. A band played the Seward theme song, "Oh, Isn't He A Darling?"

Weed had confidently predicted victory—and a poll of incoming delegates seemed to show that he was right.

But Lincoln men had been busy, too. Their strategy was to present their man as a moderate who can win the election. And they had steadily lined up delegates who agreed to switch to Lincoln as a second choice.

Tickets Faked?

Possibly it had no effect on the voting, but they packed the hall with Lincoln supporters. One report, which can't be verified, circulates that a thousand counterfeit tickets were passed out today to Honest Abe's supporters.

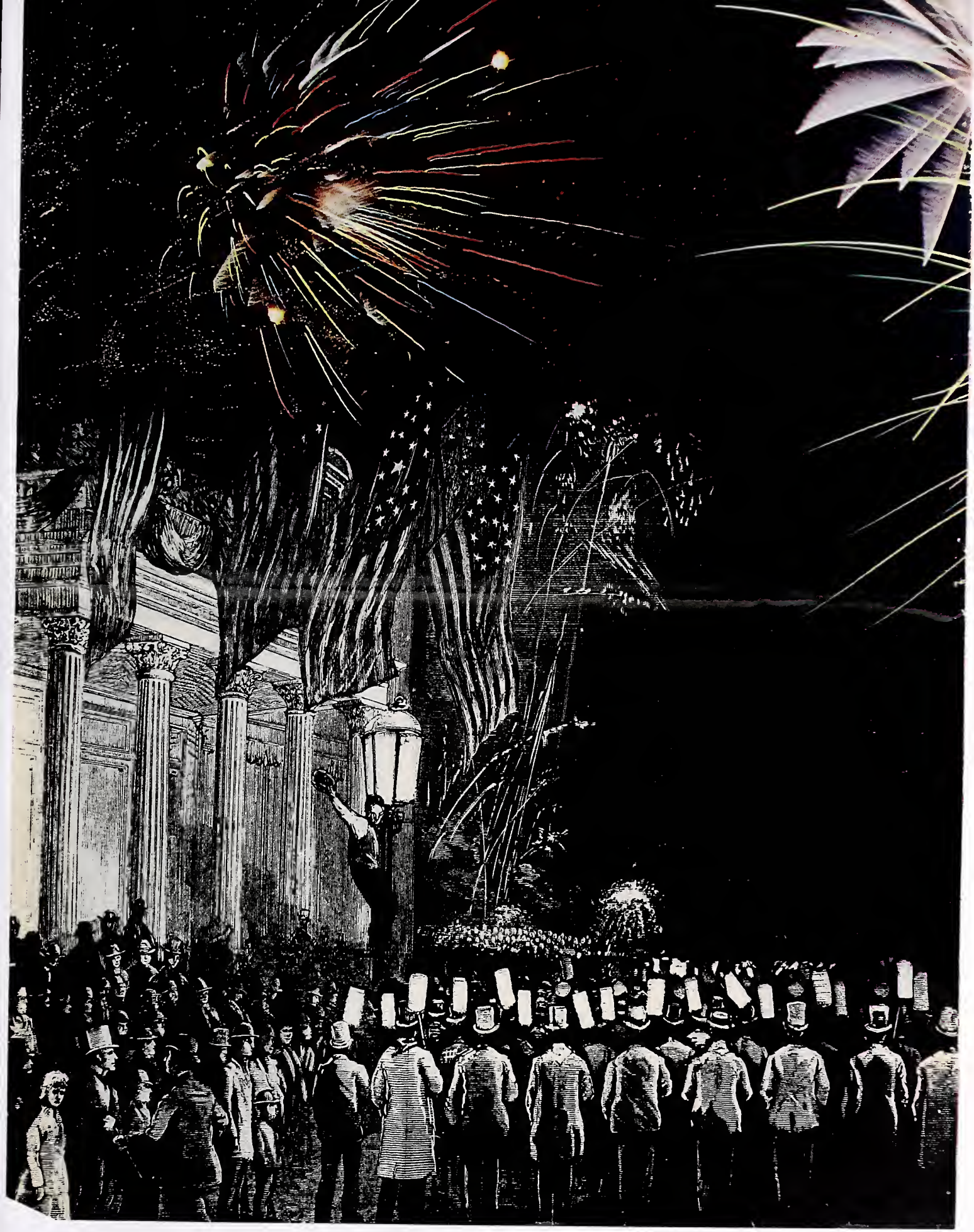
And so, at a time when the slavery question again seriously threatens the Union, to Abraham Lincoln falls the chore of explaining how he would keep it together.

So far he has mostly avoided specific issues, and he had no comment on them today.

The news reached Lincoln while he was at the office of The Springfield, Ill., Journal. He accepted congratulations and said:

"I reckon there's a little short woman down at our house that would like to hear the news."

And he hurried off to tell his wife that Abraham Lincoln had been nominated for president of the United States.



Life 7/5/1968

Conventions: Nomination By Rain Dance

No American institutions so fascinate and so appall the citizenry of the Republic (and so absolutely flabbergast foreigners) as do those vulgar, those quarrelsome, those unspeakably chaotic rites by which U.S. political parties choose candidates for the Presidency. The quadrennial conventions assume the loftiest of partisan obligations; but no other such convocations anywhere in the civilized world perform their functions amid such torrents of hoarse and lamentable oratory, such displays of hypocritical bedlam and such barefaced recourse to the mores of the poker table and the flea market. They are motivated by an arrant opportunism, will seize upon a Warren G. Harding as ecstatically as upon an Abraham Lincoln, and are such natural incubators of bathos and low comedy that their functionaries sometimes seem to be engaged in some large-scale revival of 19th Century burlesque.

To illustrate this last aspect of the American nominating process, one need only recall the pigeons which took

by PAUL O'NEIL

The day they let the pigeons flap into the fans

CONVENTIONS
CONTINUED

so dramatic a part in the Democratic Convention of 1948 at Philadelphia. The hapless birds, which were delivered on stage in two large wicker hampers, were expected to 1) sweep upward past a huge, floral Liberty Bell and 2) behave like "doves of peace" during a speech by Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller—a plump, surrealistically hatted local committeewoman who liked to call herself The Old Gray Mare of Pennsylvania's Democratic organization. Not a soul questioned the wisdom of this curious project—although it held up the presidential acceptance speech—and Chairman Sam Rayburn surrendered the stage to it without a moment's hesitation. Mrs. Miller bustled importantly through a women's club talk on "world peace," paused dramatically, held up one hand, and looked pointedly around at a helpful chauffeur—who proceeded, thus cued, to fling up the lids of the hampers. The pigeons, however, refused to budge. The Old Gray Mare's unhappy deputy began scooping them up and heaving them frantically into the air, and the torpid and heat-stricken conventioneers were galvanized, in an instant, into paroxysms of laughter and outbursts of violent applause. The sound grew . . . and grew . . . and grew.

The pigeons, once airborne, circled drunkenly in search of roosts, undeterred by the fact that the flower of the party—Alben Barkley, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and President Harry Truman himself—were arrayed on chairs below them. They teetered precariously on the big, wire-housed floor fans which stood about the stage, committing nuisances and threatening at every instant to reduce themselves to pigeonburger. They flew out over the audience by the dozen and then, apparently revolted by what they saw, zoomed back once more to harass the quivering dignitaries on stage. Some flapped about the rafters. Some clung to the draperies. When Sam Rayburn began banging his gavel to restore order, a pigeon attempted to land on his bald head. He ducked wildly and, when the bird lit on the lectern before him, flung it savagely away. Pandemonium!

Despite such provocation, it would be incautious to suggest—as sputtering citizens have been suggesting for more than a century—that the nominating convention is beyond salvation and should be wiped out forever in simple duty to the honor and dignity of the country. Its participants are not necessarily engaged in retreat from reason and responsibility during those spells of lunatic behavior in which the gravest of them seem to join; they are sometimes motivated by selfish, even cynical, intratribal warfare, but just as often they reflect attitudes organic in the American political experiment—an acceptance of surrogacy, an anxious if pragmatic awareness of the voting masses, and an impulse for compromise and for that ornate punctilio by which it is ritually proposed.

The Democrats could hardly have avoided the convention embarrassments of 1948—the U.S. being the kind of country it is—even if someone had bothered to anticipate them. The pigeons, for one thing, had been donated by the Allied Florists of Philadelphia and one does not connive for elective office by offending florists, or barbers, or patternmakers. Mrs. Miller, more importantly, was not only a party worker—and former Senator Joe Guffey's sister—but a WOMAN! And the convention, it must be noted, achieved its larger purpose just as well with an intrusion of birds as it could have without them; it not only nominated Harry Truman on schedule but provided a forum for the first of the "give 'em hell" speeches which won him the Presidency.

The absurdities and shortcomings of the presidential convention, like faults inherent in other aspects of the democratic process, are more evident to the casual eye than are its uniqueness of concept and its underlying utilitarianism. Many of its failings, moreover, are actually the failings of those who participate in it—of politics itself—and could not necessarily be expected to vanish if they were transferred into some other channel of expression. If one considers the nominating devices of other nations, if one takes a realistic view of politics and politicians, if one contemplates the American past, and if one is willing to admit the impossibility, in a nation of 200 million people, of often achieving truly representative government, it is hard not to conclude that the convention is one of history's most ingenious and practical political inventions. Beyond that, it is a kind of potlatch or rain dance by which political parties and populace are reminded of tradition and assured of identity.

Not that it is beyond improvement, or that it has not profited by the indignation of reformers—particularly those reformers of the early 20th Century who won acceptance of the presidential primary election. The state primaries play an important role in modern presidential politics; they offer dark-horse candidates a dramatic means of emergence and force-feed delegates an insight into the public will, which some might otherwise prefer to ignore. It is hard to believe, however, that primaries could ever replace the convention itself: they are inelastic in concept and divergent in purpose; 15 primaries assist the nominating process, but 50 of them might well smother it in confusion; and they too, alas, are susceptible to political clout. It is fascinating to recall how easily Governor David Lawrence and Philadelphia Boss William Green kept Candidate John Fitzgerald Kennedy from profiting by the 1960 Pennsylvania primary. They simply warned him, on pain of enmity, to stay out of it, thus retaining a trading control of delegates for themselves. The short, lugubrious history of the Minnesota primary is equally revealing; it was adopted by the legislature in 1949 as a device for furthering the ambitions of Harold Stassen and dumped, in 1959, because Minnesotans were so ill-advised as to have voted for Estes Kefauver, thus euchring Hubert Humphrey out of a delegate's seat in 1956.

Every convention, of course, is a receptacle for monkey business; but the convention has ways of utilizing it or rejecting it according to circumstances. It is the rare delegation which is not controlled, in one way or another, by state bosses or natural leaders or fiat from a primary back home. But in many cases—if the convention is simply renominating a President or even if it is picking a sure loser in a bad year—it has only one choice to make. In more fluid situations, however, the schemes of one fixer can neutralize the schemes of another. Pennsylvania's Lawrence and Green achieved nothing by denying J.F.K. primary control of their delegation in 1960. Kennedy captured so many other states that they had to deliver their votes to him on the first ballot anyhow or risk the horrors of White House vengeance later on. And in

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Harry Truman, third from left, and friends dodge "doves of peace"

times of genuine crisis and genuine contest, as in a chemical reaction involving unweighed elements, a convention can behave so aberrantly that the most intransigent of bosses must abandon greed for reality or go down with a dead horse.

The convention is not simply vulgar; it is, like Mt. Rushmore or the beer-splashed locker room of a World Series winner, supremely, uniquely, even inspirationally vulgar. One must guess that U.S. politics would suffer grievously if it were not because the health of all political parties—even that of the joyless Communists of the U.S.S.R.—seems to hinge on such clan gatherings; but none, anywhere else, offers the faithful so delicious an amalgam of cigar smoke, suspense, whisky, noise, multidenominational prayer, band music and tribal dancing. Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats have any real "national organizations"; both parties are a hodgepodge of 50 almost unrelated and often quarreling state organizations. The convention—and this is its most marvelous attribute—is a kind of mold or form or template in which these diverse mobs can shape themselves into a reasonably coherent whole and can engage, once their intraparty differences are resolved, in false though binding and hideously sentimental expressions of solidarity and love.

If it is splendidly vulgar, it is also splendidly content with pettifoggery, guile, circumvention, subterfuge, arm-twisting and various forms of the old Brooklyn Bridge sale—even so crude a manifestation of it as the Voice from the Sewers, which called for F.D.R.'s third term nomination at the Democratic convention of 1940. (Roosevelt had carefully sewed up a majority of delegates but wanted voters to consider him a helpless victim of overwhelming public demand; Chicago's Sewers Superintendent Thomas McGarry hid in the basement with a microphone which was connected to the convention loudspeaker system and obligingly yelled, "We want Roosevelt!" for 22 minutes—thus setting off a turbulent demonstration on the floor.) But this sort of thing is only natural; the U.S. wants "class" in its Presidents but cannot quite forgive fastidiousness in one when he is grappling for the grand prize

The convention puts party power above the national welfare and can mistake mediocrity for revelation, but in times of need still has picked great leaders with remarkable regularity It is a sort of

advertisement, a commercial (now fully televised) for partisan politics. It links the American present with the American past—with the Whigs, the Jacksonians, the Barnburners, the Know-Nothings, the Greenbackers, the Populists, the Abolitionists, the slave Democrats, the Bull Moosers, the sachems of Tammany and the old Western Republicans from whom it has inherited its flavor, its peculiarities, its memories of vanished frontiers.

One has only to read the dispatches of Murat Halstead—a brash, skeptical and sharp-eyed Cincinnati reporter who covered politics in the middle 19th Century—to realize how faithfully the convention has gone on reflecting the sounds and attitudes which were its hallmark 100 years ago.

Here is Halstead on John Pettit of Indiana, describing the latter's address to the Democratic convention of 1856 at Smith & Nixon's Musical Hall in Cincinnati: "Short, thick and enormous. . . . His voice reverberates solemnly above the tumult like the booming of a monstrous bullfrog among other frogs of far inferior wind privileges." On New York's Horace Greeley and Thurlow Weed: "Busy as beavers and sly as moles." On a forgotten Hoosier named Henry S. Lane, giving the Republicans a sample of "Western" oratory at Philadelphia's Musical Fund Hall in the same year: "Lane is 6 feet high, marvelously lean, his front teeth out, his complexion between a sun blister and yellow fever, and his small eyes glistening like those of a wildcat. . . . He would fling his arms in wild gesticulation and utter the most impassioned and swelling sentences, smacking his fists horribly at the close of every emphatic period, 'bringing down the house' every lick in a tremendous outburst of huzzas and stamping."

Most Americans nurse an innate suspicion of political parties but, for better or for worse, would hardly deny them the function of selecting and electing Presidents. Not so the Founding Fathers, who did their level best to keep the office absolutely uncontaminated (Ah, F.D.R.! Ah, L.B.J.!) by politics. They were certain that private citizens of worth and intelligence—chosen in their own states as members of a college of electors—could accomplish the whole process of selection if each simply scribbled the names of two eminent Americans on a piece of paper and sent it off to Congress. The fellow who got the most votes was—presto!—President and the runner-up Vice President. This splendidly nutty idea backfired almost instantly and is responsible for our present system. The men who framed the Constitution, since they neither envisaged nor provided for any formal choice of candidates, handed the nominating process over to party leaders by default. It has been a party prerogative ever since.

Conventions did not evolve, however, until the evolution of a "popular" Presidency and this materialized only as the country itself developed and grew. The Federalists who signed the Constitution—and, as a matter of fact, the anti-Federalists who rose to oppose them—did not much doubt that the country should be governed by an aristocracy based on intelligence, honesty, patriotism and ability. Of the four Presidents who followed George Washington all but John Adams—who simply entered the lists at the urging of friends—were nominated by the congressional delegations of their respective parties meeting in private "caucus" (a term which probably stems from *kaw-kaw-wus*, an Algonquin word for talk or consultation). But "King Caucus" grew increasingly unpopular—if only because it made Presidents the creatures of Congress. Western restiveness, the development of transportation, the growth of cities and of industry eventually brought down the caucus system, leaving its functions to be seized by the tobacco chewers of Andy Jackson's spoils system and by the ward bosses and grass roots politicos who followed them.

If such pressures made a broader process of nomination inevitable, however, no politician stepped forward to institute it. The first presidential convention was inspired by a New York stonecutter named William Morgan and conceived by as curious a bunch of rubes and hayshakers as ever conspired in a henhouse. History is rather vague about the life, the

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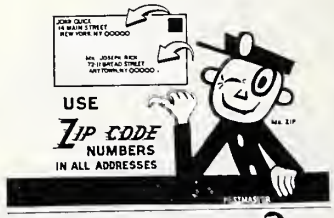

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times and even the fate of William Morgan—beyond the fact that he was credited with writing an "exposé" of Masonry in the 1820s and vanished forthwith and forever. This literary production concerned itself solely with the passwords, door-knocks, highfalutin' titles and other rigmarole involved in Masonic meetings, and any two pages of it would put a speed freak to sleep for 24 hours. The "Freemasons of Batavia and Rochester" were, nevertheless, incensed and—at least according to rumor which swept the countryside—not only kidnaped the incautious muckraker but rowed him across the Niagara River, festooned him with sinkers and heaved him, yelling, into the depths.

Local indignation over this tale was accentuated, in the autumn of 1827, by the discovery of a male body floating near the southern shore of Lake Ontario. The corpse, like the stonecutter, boasted a broken tooth. Hundreds of upstate clodhoppers, assuming it was Old Bill, formed an Anti-Masonic party and eventually—since Andy Jackson was a Mason, too—set out to avenge the martyr by throwing Old Hickory out of the White House.

In the fall of 1831, to dramatize their cause, they sent 114 delegates to a meeting in Baltimore and nominated William Wirt of Pennsylvania, a former attorney general, for President. This first gesture was also the last gasp of the Anti-Masons—but not of their political idea. Jackson himself, who had gotten the legislature of Tennessee to nominate him for the first term, adopted a convention as a means of launching his second campaign for office. Thus sanctioned, it was a part of Americana for good.

The new national nominating conventions shaped themselves, almost immediately, to a primitive federalism; that is, they aped the government itself by adopting a system of proportionate representation, thus establishing an accurate relationship between the size and influence of delegations and the states from which they sprang. And they developed with astonishing alacrity other aspects of today's conventions: the acrimonious debate over rules and admissions, the bated behind-the-scenes trading, the sonorous roll calls and moments of uproarious mass self-congratulation.

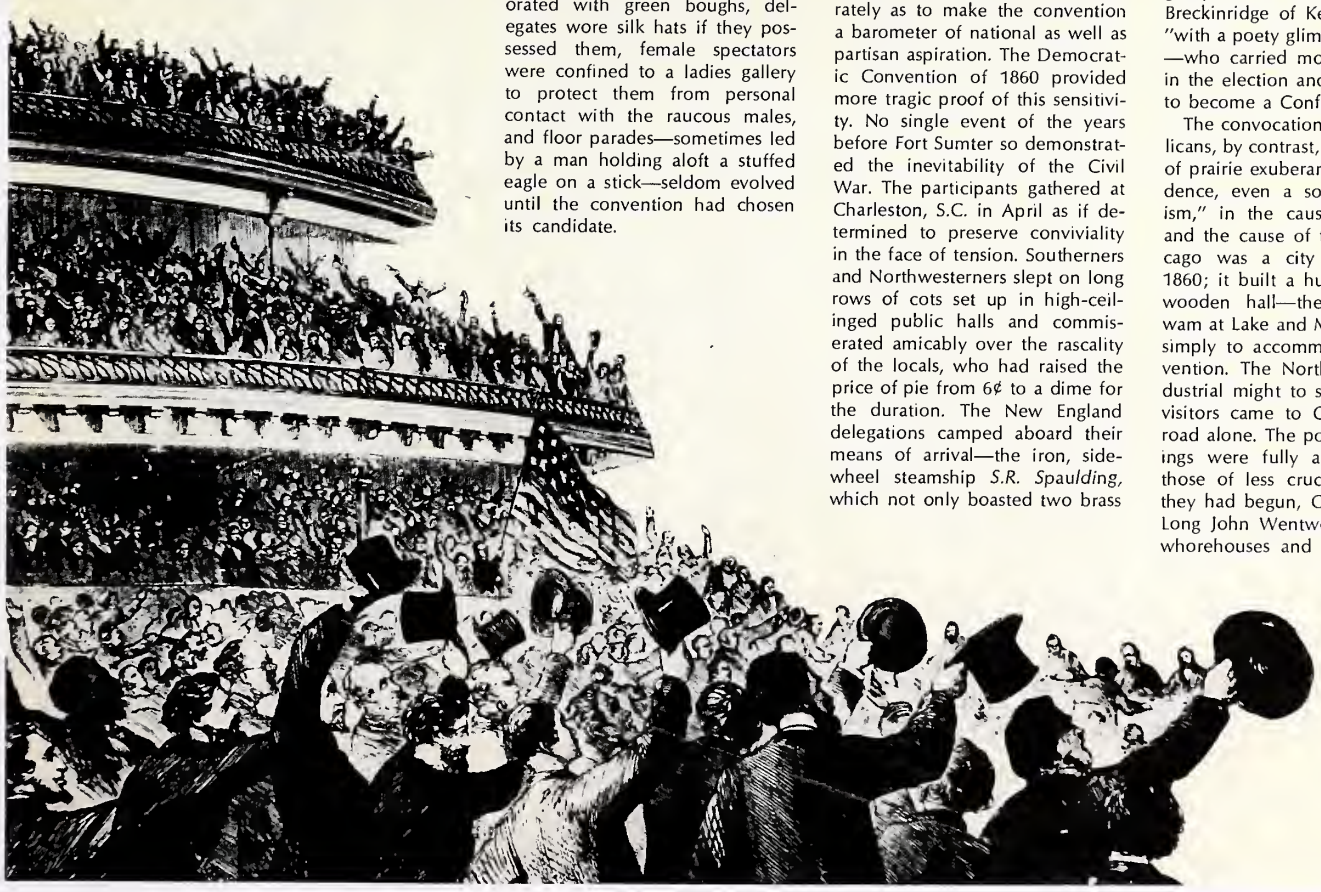
Not even the alarums and excursions of popular politics, of course, were capable of erasing certain overtones of decorousness which were common to ante-bellum society. The stifling, gas-lit halls of the day were often decorated with green boughs, delegates wore silk hats if they possessed them, female spectators were confined to a ladies gallery to protect them from personal contact with the raucous males, and floor parades—sometimes led by a man holding aloft a stuffed eagle on a stick—seldom evolved until the convention had chosen its candidate.

Hoopla and expansiveness, for all this, were the hallmarks of the nominating process. The streets of downtown Baltimore were a "fairyland" of arches, signs and silken banners when the Whigs nominated Henry Clay of Kentucky for President in May, 1844. The delegates restrained themselves during the convention itself—perhaps because it was held in the Universalist Church—but having "recommended" their hero "to the people WITH ONE VOICE," they cut loose with a roar. Delegates, bands and innumerable Clay Clubs (bearing such signs as: Star of the West We Hail Thy Rays) paraded through the city to "continued applause." So did a horde of Allegheny County "mountain boys" in hunting shirts, who pushed a "rolling ball," a huge wooden sphere with a pole protruding from either end of its horizontal axis, as a curious feature of Clay's campaign (and inspired the phrase: "Keep the ball rolling!"). A mob of 65,000 met them in a suburban pasture, gave "three deafening cheers and a blast on the bugle" and listened to praise of the candidate by Daniel Webster.

These noisy exercises were less peripheral than they seemed; they reflected the optimism, the naiveté, the energy and prejudices of the young Republic so accurately as to make the convention a barometer of national as well as partisan aspiration. The Democratic Convention of 1860 provided more tragic proof of this sensitivity. No single event of the years before Fort Sumter so demonstrated the inevitability of the Civil War. The participants gathered at Charleston, S.C. in April as if determined to preserve conviviality in the face of tension. Southerners and Northwesterners slept on long rows of cots set up in high-ceilinged public halls and commiserated amicably over the rascality of the locals, who had raised the price of pie from 6¢ to a dime for the duration. The New England delegations camped aboard their means of arrival—the iron, side-wheel steamship *S.R. Spaulding*, which not only boasted two brass cannon said to have been fired at Bunker Hill, but also a supply of whisky guaranteed to last until all delegates were returned to Boston. Moderates from both sides of the Mason-Dixon line agreed on Stephen A. Douglas as the candidate best calculated to preserve unity. But the climate of the convention was nevertheless the climate of war.

Southern "Ultras"—men who wore floppy hats and string ties and had come to the conclusion that they were a special race descended from the Cavaliers of England—demanded that the party stand for slavery, a "divine" institution, in territories. Northerners balked. The Southern hotheads were adamant—in part because they were reacting to years of abuse from Abolitionists like Boston's Wendell Phillips, who described the South as "one great brothel, where a half million of women are flogged to prostitution." Delegates from Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Texas, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Arkansas, Delaware and North Carolina walked out. The convention struggled through 57 ballots without them, "adjourned" to Baltimore, attempted to win the Southern delegations back, and then split apart again. Northern splinter groups eventually nominated Douglas and Southern splinter groups Vice President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky—a man "with a poety glimmer about him"—who carried most of the South in the election and left the Union to become a Confederate general.

The convocation of new Republicans, by contrast, reflected a kind of prairie exuberance and a confidence, even a sort of "evangelism," in the cause of the party and the cause of the Union. Chicago was a city of 110,000 in 1860; it built a huge, flag-topped wooden hall—the famous Wigwam at Lake and Market Streets—simply to accommodate the convention. The North flexed its industrial might to salute it: 40,000 visitors came to Chicago by railroad alone. The political proceedings were fully as indelicate as those of less crucial years. After they had begun, Chicago's Mayor Long John Wentworth raided the whorehouses and did not fail to



touched off Lincoln's bandwagon

flush out red-faced and indignant delegates. The convention seemed to have no more idea of what it was about than most: William Henry Seward got 173½ votes to Lincoln's 102 on first ballot and lost most of his advantage on second, largely because Abe's floor managers made a trade with Pennsylvania's Boss Simon Cameron—a cabinet seat for 50 delegates. But 1860 proved that such convention crudities can fuel a kind of mass wisdom and that convention politicos will respond to intuition.

Lincoln grew on the convention, in no small part because of intangibles. His lieutenants were moved by an irascible industry which set them apart. Horace Greeley seemed "feverish" as he hurried from room to room through the first night exhorting the doubtful, and Lincoln's grassroots backers were obviously motivated by an extraordinary enthusiasm. Most of them came to Chicago lugging fence rails and the piles of lumber they deposited around the Wigwam were visual proof of unusual faith. And they howled in the galleries. The Lincoln bandwagon, once started, was beyond halting and the roar which greeted his nomination expressed a unanimity felt far beyond the Wigwam. Observed Lincoln's friend Leonard Swett: "Ten acres of hotel gongs, a tribe of Comanches might have mingled in the scene unnoticed." Steam engines whistled in the railroad yards outside, cannons were fired at the Tremont House and church bells began a clangor which went on for 24 hours.

Presidential conventions have, in their century and a half of history, demonstrated a tendency to repeat themselves—to behave, given a certain set of circumstances, roughly as they behaved when they last dealt with similar problems. Washington Political Scientist Richard Montgomery Scammon uses the capital's newest "In" word—scenarios—to describe the patterns into which convention proceedings may fall:

►"One guy gets ahead and everybody tries to gang up on him: John Fitzgerald Kennedy in 1960.

►"Man comes up from behind: Wendell Willkie in 1940.

►"Outstanding candidates battling neck and neck down to the finish line: Dwight D. Eisenhower and Robert Taft in 1952.

►"Dark horse wins: Warren G. Harding in 1920.

►"Candidate far out in front—no contest: Herbert Hoover in 1928, Alfred Landon in 1936.

►"Incumbent president to nominate—nothing to do but parade in the aisles: Calvin Coolidge in 1924, Franklin Roosevelt in 1936, Lyndon Johnson in 1964."

But there are variations on these themes. Some conventions seem to have been so chaotic—so subject to irrationality, coincidence and conflicts of ambition—as to have been controlled by the hand of fate rather than the hand of man. None has produced a candidate by means more unpredictable, more confusing or more raucously hilarious than those by which the Democratic Convention of 1912 selected Woodrow Wilson at Baltimore's Fifth Regiment Armory.

Few politicians have ever owed as much to chance as Wilson. He became governor of New Jersey only 1) because George Harvey, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, convinced Democratic Boss James ("Jim") Smith that the party needed a candidate "with no past and no present" and 2) because a set of enormously practical underlings —"Big-jaw" Jim Nugent, "Planked Shad" Thompson and "Little Napoleon" Bob Davis—rigged the state convention in his favor. Not that "the professor" lacked a certain sanctimonious instinct for the jugular; he wrapped himself in a mantle of "instant statesmanship" and cut the throats of his sponsors at the moment of summons from Princeton University to public life. He owed nothing, he told the astonished state delegates, to any combination of leaders or bosses. It took him only three months as governor to destroy Boss Smith (by refusing to back him for re-election as U.S. senator), only a few more to take over the state organization, and only a year to dump backer Harvey, replace him with Colonel E. M. House—who promised him political influence in the Midwest—and to start running for President.

But Wilson, for all this, was not exactly the sort of fellow most Democrats pined to see in the White House. The Republicans were hopelessly split between Taft conformists (who had steamrollered control of their convention amidst cries of "Choo choo choo choo!" from the galleries) and the bolting Bull Moosers of Teddy Roosevelt ("The fight is on and I am stripped to the buff"). A Democratic victory seemed deliciously certain. "We propose to name a straight-out organization man," said Democratic National Committee Chairman Norman E. Mack. "It is our first opportunity since the Civil War to have a President willing to recognize his obligations to the party workers. Cleveland never did. It looks like Champ Clark."

Missouri's congressman, Speaker James Beauchamp Clark, might have been especially designed for old-line delegates—and the yahoos out yonder. He opposed protective tariffs, monopolies, Eastern bankers and the get-rich-quick schemes of railroad magnates. He looked right: big, thick-browed, gray and homespun in his frock coats, dark alpaca trousers, gates-ajar collars and black ties. He was Western. He was regular. He was Folks. His backers sang:

Every time I come to town,
The boys start kicking my
dawg aroun'.
Makes no difference if he is
a houn',
They gotta quit kicking my
dawg aroun'."

Clark led from the start. He had 556 votes to Wilson's 350½ by the 10th ballot. An exuberant Missouri female in dustcatcher skirt waved Old Glory from a perch on the shoulders of the Missouri delegation and his floor manager, W. J. Stone, wired Woodrow Wilson at Sea Girt, N.J. for capitulation to "the choice of the majority." Wilson agreed. "Stone's logic is correct," he said. He picked up a telephone, told his own manager, W. J. McCombs, to scratch his name from the lists and sat down to compose a telegram of congratulation to the front runner. It was never delivered. Manager McCombs—who hung up muttering, "Not on your life!"—told not a soul about Wilson's decision to withdraw. And it became apparent, almost immediately, that the convention had hardly begun—that it was not being dominated by Clark at all but by that jealous old egomaniac William Jennings Bryan, one-time Boy Orator of the Platte and perennial Democratic presidential aspirant.

History still views Wilson with a certain ambivalence, but few Presidents ever personified such shifts in national viewpoint as were embodied in U.S. participation in World War I and the concept of the League of Nations. The Wilsonian U.S.—one might almost say, the Wilsonian world—stemmed in the beginning from the guile and gall of Bryan and, as things turned out, a disastrous miscalculation by Champ Clark's manager. It is doubtful that the aberrant aspect, perhaps even the peculiar wisdom, of Presidential conventions has ever been so dramatically demonstrated. William Jennings Bryan had no more idea of nominating Woodrow Wilson for President, as Champ Clark put it, bitterly, afterward, "than of nominating him for Ahkoond of Swat." The aging Boy Orator wanted to be President himself.

Although he had been three times a presidential candidate, Bryan came to the convention in the humblest of roles—a simple delegate from Nebraska committed to vote for Clark. But he also came with a scheme for creating havoc, out of which he hoped to emerge once more as the hero of the hour. He began by trying—while thousands hissed, howled, cursed or applauded—to grab the temporary chairmanship of the convention. He failed. But he was soon making a nuisance of himself again with a resolution attacking Tammany Hall and the New York delegation: "We hereby declare ourselves opposed to the nomination of any candidate for President . . . under obligation to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class!" This triggered genuinely frightful scenes of mass complaint.

The convention hall rang to thunderous volleys of booing, cries for order, whistles, laughter and noisy waves of applause. Angry men swung their fists amid splintering furniture and one delegate, standing on a chair, bayed: "I offer $25,000 to the man who will kill William Jennings Bryan! Kill him! Hang him!" Bryan watched with a half smile, rhythmically waving a palm-leaf fan. He was rewarded. The Democrats, who had heard Bryan rant against the "interests" before, felt they were being victimized by rhetoric from a tiresome has-been and began—mostly because The Peerless Leader seemed intent on making himself a figure of fun—to vote "aye" for his proposition. It passed, with even New Yorkers approving, by 883 to 201½. Not a soul seemed to realize that Bryan had set a

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New tactics pioneered by J.F.K.

CONVENTIONS
CONTINUED

trap until—with New York having swung its 90 votes to Clark—the Nebraska delegation was polled on the 14th ballot.

Bryan stepped into the aisle and began bawling: "Mister Chairman!"

"For what purpose does the gentleman rise?"

Bryan yelled: "To explain my vote!"

"Under the rules," cried Chairman William Sulzer, banging furiously into a recurrence of the horrible din which Bryan alone seemed to inspire, "nothing is in order but the calling of the roll." He was eminently correct. But Bryan persisted: "As long as Mr. Ryan's agents . . . as long as New York's 90 votes are recorded for Mr. Clark, I withhold my vote and cast it . . ."

His voice was engulfed in a hurricane of boos, catcalls, whistles and impassioned cries of "Regular order! Regular order!" But now Clark's manager, certain that his man was too far ahead to be beaten, certain that Bryan would make himself harmlessly ludicrous if given the chance, waved at the platform and indulged himself in one of the century's most ringing errors of political judgment.

"I move," he called grandiloquently, "that unanimous consent be given Mr. Bryan to explain his vote." Bryan insistently began fighting his way through struggling men to the stage. He stood silent, waving his fan, for 15 minutes while a deafening tumult expended itself on the floor below. But he had a point: the delegates *had* voted opposition to any Tammany-backed candidate and Clark *had* accepted New York votes. And, old or not, Bryan was still an orator of rare skills. No man, he finally cried, should be nominated to whom, if elected, the "money trust" could say, "Remember thy creator!" He went on: "I refuse to obey the instructions of my state to vote for Mr. Clark."

That—by the peculiar chemistry which sometimes governs the minds of politicians arranged en masse—was the end of Missouri's favorite son. Alabama's Candidate Oscar W. Underwood made it plain that he would not throw his votes to Clark, and since this involved that period (1832-1936) in which Democrats did not nominate with less than a two-thirds majority, every delegation was forced to a reassessment of strategy. Chairman Sulzer, carried away by the atmosphere of confusion and by the irrational idea that even he might now have a chance at the Presidency, dropped his gavel, left the podium, seized Tammany Boss Charles F. Murphy by the lapels and pleaded for backing. "You're out," snarled Murphy. "Get back where you belong."

The convention turned to Wilson—with glacial deliberateness. "The professor" did not edge ahead until the 28th ballot. (Reporters who descended on him found his air of chilly reserve intact even then: "You might say," he told them, "that Governor Wilson received the news . . . in a riot of silence.") But the delegates had decided, and, on the 46th ballot, sent him on his way to the White House—and the mirrored hall at Versailles.

Four wars, nine presidents, technological revolution and the advent of Madison Avenue have worked changes in the convention since that hot July day in 1912. John Fitzgerald Kennedy rewrote its book of tactics, if not its book of strategy. No candidate before him ever indulged in so long or so relentless a courtship of county politicians and convention delegates (four years of Christmas cards, personal messages, personal calls), managed so accurate and penetrating a surveillance of delegations once a convention had begun (spies for every state, telephones at every floor station, hour-by-hour checks of every change in group sentiment, daily reports on the reactions of every individual delegate), or achieved such means of instantaneous counter-attack (as when Adlai Stevenson and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt attempted to inspire an anti-Kennedy stampede). None of these lessons will be forgotten. Barry Goldwater used them with effectiveness at the last Republican convention.

Conventions have been air-conditioned since 1952, although the wilting spectator might not always know it. They have been televised since 1948—and thus have attracted tens of millions of spectators who had no way, before, of really savoring their zoo-like exhibits of curious humanity and the fascinating, boring, interminable, and ritualistic processes by which they approach their apogee: those flash-lit minutes in which candidate and candidate's wife stand—teeth bared, eyes fixed on the farthest rafters, outer arms upraised, inner arms lovingly entwined—while an organist compromises the whole, long history of music and acres of folks from Kankakee stand roaring like seals during the mating season.

Change, thus, only seems to accentuate the essential peculiarities of the presidential convention. History suggests that we accept this fact with gratitude. Circumstance seldom demands genuinely crucial and historic decision of it. But we are all well served—in such moments of national crisis and soul-trying alternative as the country faces in 1968—by its impulse for camp-meeting evangelism on the floor and for kneeing and gouging behind the scenes. Few people in the world are yet able to transfer supreme power in times of supreme difficulty without consideration of violence or armed insurrection. The U.S. convention provides an environment in which belligerent and scheming men can entrap the foe and plunge the steel without recourse to knives, howitzers or the planes of ambitious generals. It will doubtless continue to do so as long as its intrinsic atmosphere continues unchanged, as long as it remains, in the words of Political Scientist Scammon: "a mercenary kind of game in which armies march and counter-march and threaten each other, but eventually compromise without blood being actually spilled."

It is hard not to wonder whether the convention, by its very informality, by its confident and impromptu assumption of such awesome power, may not symbolize some larger and more ephemeral quality of the American experiment than is contained within the diameter of simple politics; whether turn-of-the-century political analyst, Russian-born Moisei Ostrogorski, may not have spoken less sardonically than he thought when he concluded that a convention—"15,000 people all attacked at once with St. Vitus' dance"—was certain proof that God in his infinite wisdom watches benevolently over drunkards, children and the United States of America.

ALL CAMPAIGN MEMENTOS SHOWN HERE AND ON PRECEDING PAGES ARE FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Lincoln Lore

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation . . . Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, Editor
Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 1567 FORT WAYNE, INDIANA September 1968

Lincoln And The Vice Presidency

Editor's Note: Dr. Louis A. Warren, formerly editor of *Lincoln Lore* has suggested or implied in several early issues (sixteen to be exact but primarily in 834, 1044 and 1419) that Lincoln might have aspired to the Vice Presidency of the United States (if the Presidency had not been available to him) and would have accepted such nomination if it had been tendered him by the Republican party in 1860. As this topic is so timely in 1968, and as so many of our present day subscribers do not have all of the early issues of the bulletin, it is thought to be appropriate to reprint excerpts from these early numbers which deal with this subject.

R.G.M.

Long an insignificant office, the Vice Presidency of the United States seems at present to carry more prestige than formerly and is rapidly becoming the nation's public relations portfolio. Eventually the position may serve as an actual stepping stone to the chief executive's chair, rather than a stumbling block to political advancement, except of course where the demise of the President occurs. Certainly one hundred years ago the office did not hold out much prospect for the ambitious presidential aspirant.

Apparently the Vice Presidency has always been made a sort of allurement to catch votes or bolster a presidential candidate's strength where fraternally or geographically he is weakest. Yet, the selection of a Vice President, who automatically becomes the head of the nation if disaster visits the White House, is usually made in a hurried session of a few political leaders, or even by one man who may assume the dictatorial effrontery to select for the people their potential leader.

Abraham Lincoln's popularity within the newly organized Republican party in the northwest might have thrust the Vice Presidential nomination upon him at the Philadelphia convention in 1856. Again in 1860 a concerted effort was made to make him the Vice Presidential nominee, but Lincoln's own strategy allowed him to evade this political pitfall.

Among the most important episodes occurring in the political career of Abraham Lincoln, was his greeting of

THE NOMINATIONS AT MUSICAL FUND HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

From The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Here, the first Republican National Convention met in the Musical Fund Hall on the south side of Locust Street (between 8th and 9th) in downtown Philadelphia. Lincoln received on June 19, 1856, 110 votes for the Vice Presidency, but William L. Dayton of New Jersey was nominated as Fremont's running mate.

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD YATES,

DELIVERED IN THE WIGWAM, AT THE SPRINGFIELD

JUBILEE, NOVEMBER 20, 1860.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

We have had a splendid triumph, and we have met to rejoice over it. We rejoice, not with vindictive triumph over our opponents, but in the success of principle. We desire not to make them feel bad, but for ourselves to feel glad. Say no hard things against them, for their cup is full and running over. (Laughter.) We rejoice because we have had a solemn and deliberate verdict of the American people in favor of the great, the undying principle of human liberty. (Applause.) We have had a hard struggle; we have had to meet misrepresentation and falsehood—a base perversion of the platform and designs of the Republican party; but they have fled before us as the prairie fires are driven before autumnal winds when the grass is dry, and now our banners stream aloft like a flame far up in the sky, and float majestically on the breeze and the storm. (Applause.)

Our victory is thorough, ample, complete. Why, we have carried the Legislature, the State, and the Nation. (Applause.) Up to '58, Illinois was the banner State of Democracy, and rolled up her majorities by uncounted thousands. In '58 we carried the popular vote for Lincoln—but by reason of unfair apportionment, our opponents had the Legislature; but now, in spite of unfair apportionment and gerrymandered districts, we have carried both branches of the Legislature. (Applause.)

Now one of the results of this will be, that the Legislature will, at its next session apportion the legislative districts on the principle of fairness, and thus transfer the power from one third, to a majority of the people, and from "Egypt to Israel." (Laughter.)

Another result: By the recent census, Illinois will be entitled to about six Representatives increase, so that the State will have fifteen Representatives in Congress. Now we must be fair to our Democratic friends, and we must give them at least three Democratic districts down in lower Egypt; (laughter) good and strong ones, so that they will have no doubt of their undoubted democracy. (Laughter and applause.) Now we can be kind in this respect, and still have twelve Congressmen left to bear aloft the Republican flag, and give their support to Abraham Lincoln's Administration. ("Good," and applause.)

I confess my heart is full, when I refer to another result of securing the Legislature. I refer to the triumphant restoration to the Senate of the gallant, the eloquent, the noble Trumbull. (Loud applause.) Trumbull was one of the pioneers in the Republican ranks. He left a pampered and victorious party and united with a small minority for the sake of principle. No man was ever the victim of more shameful abuse or personal insult than Lyman Trumbull, but no man has more nobly vindicated his course, or more proudly borne aloft the Republican banner than Lyman Trumbull. (Loud applause.) He has reflected credit upon himself, and lustre upon his State; and in all the grand tournaments of Senatorial debate he has shown himself the peer of the proudest Senator and the ablest statesman. ("that's so," and applause.), and if Democratic leaders quailing beneath the power of irresistible logic, or writhing beneath his withering sarcasm, have actually prayed for his defeat, millions of freemen in Illinois and throughout the land, will hail the restoration of Lyman Trumbull to the Senate of the

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A rare pamphlet containing considerable information about Abraham Lincoln which is not included in the Monaghan bibliography.

Hon. Richard Yates at the railroad station in Springfield, on August 9, 1854. Yates was a United States congressman from Illinois, and at the close of the session was on his way to his home in Jacksonville via the state capital. We are indebted to Yates himself for a brief statement about this meeting. The story appears in a very rare pamphlet in the Foundation collection. The caption of the eight page pamphlet is "Speech of the Hon. Richard Yates Delivered in the Wigwam, at the Springfield Jubilee, Nov. 20, 1860." That portion of the speech that deals with the episode in question follows:

> "I had spoken and voted against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and when on my return home at the close of the long session of 1854, having published a card that I would not be a candidate for re-election, I was met at the depot in Springfield by Mr. Lincoln. He said I had taken the right course on this question, and though he could not promise me success in a district so largely against us, yet he hoped for the sake of the principle, I would run, ('That's just like Old Abe,') and if I would, he would take the stump in my behalf."

It must have been with some apprehension at least that Lincoln allowed his name to be used as a candidate for the legislature in 1854, after having been out of politics for a period of time.

Abraham Lincoln composed two famous autobiographical sketches. In the first sketch Lincoln stated, "I was losing interest in politics, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again." This statement was somewhat amplified in third-person writing with this comment: "In 1854 his profession had almost superseded the thought of Politics in his mind, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused him as he had never been before."

The fact is not widely circulated that Abraham Lincoln was elected to the Illinois Legislature for the fifth time on November 7, 1854. Most of the Lincoln biographies mention but four successful attempts on his part to gain a seat in that body. On the occasion of Lincoln's previous election in 1840, he polled the least number of votes cast for any of the five successful Whig candidates, of which he was one.

However, on election day, November 7, 1854 running for the same office in the same county, he received the largest number of votes polled by a candidate for any office. Those who have alleged that Lincoln was discredited, or lost his local political constituency, because of his stand in Congress during the Mexican War, might have some difficulty in explaining his sudden return to popular favor in the brief period of five years which had elapsed since his return from Washington.

Largely because of the new note which Lincoln sounded during the campaign for the legislature, in which he eloquently discussed the Nebraska question, he was put forth also as a candidate for the U.S. Senate. Elihu Powell wrote to Lincoln from Peoria on November 16, that he should "decline acceptance of the seat in the Legislature." This would make him a bona fide candidate for the Senate.

The political prestige which Lincoln had built up for himself, in magnanimously turning over his delegates to Trumbull in the Senatorial contest in 1855, was greatly enhanced in 1856. A movement to coordinate those opposed to the Nebraska Bill was successfully undertaken. It was sponsored by the Illinois newspaper editors, with Paul Selby, of the *Morgan Journal* at Jacksonville, taking the initiative. The appeal called for a meeting at Decatur for February 22. Selby urged that Lincoln find it convenient to be in Decatur on the day proposed, that he might be consulted on certain controversial questions which it was known would arise. Mr. Lincoln was on hand and according to Selby, was in constant touch with the Resolutions Committee throughout the day. Selby also stated that the conclusions of the committee "had the stamp of his (Lincoln's) peculiar intellect."

One of the resolutions passed at the editors' meeting called for the state convention to be held at Bloomington on May 29. It would be impossible to overemphasize the highly emotional pitch to which the convention was brought by the time the business was over. Everything had apparently been cleared on the agenda for the concluding address of the day by Abraham Lincoln. It is doubtful if a speaker ever before entered a situation where everything seemed so made to order. Although he may have utilized the occasion for unduly cultivating the already highly wrought emotional situation, he did have a receptive hearing that accentuated the importance of every word spoken. He came out of the convention the most highly honored exponent of the principles of the new party in the entire western country. There can be

ADDRESS

OF THE

CAMERON AND LINCOLN CLUB

OF THE

CITY OF CHICAGO, ILL.,

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH WEST.

By a resolution of the CAMERON and LINCOLN CLUB of the City of Chicago, it was made the duty of the Executive Committee to address you in reference to the nomination by the National Republican Convention, of the Hon. SIMON CAMERON, of Pennsylvania, for President, and Hon. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois, for Vice-President of the United States.

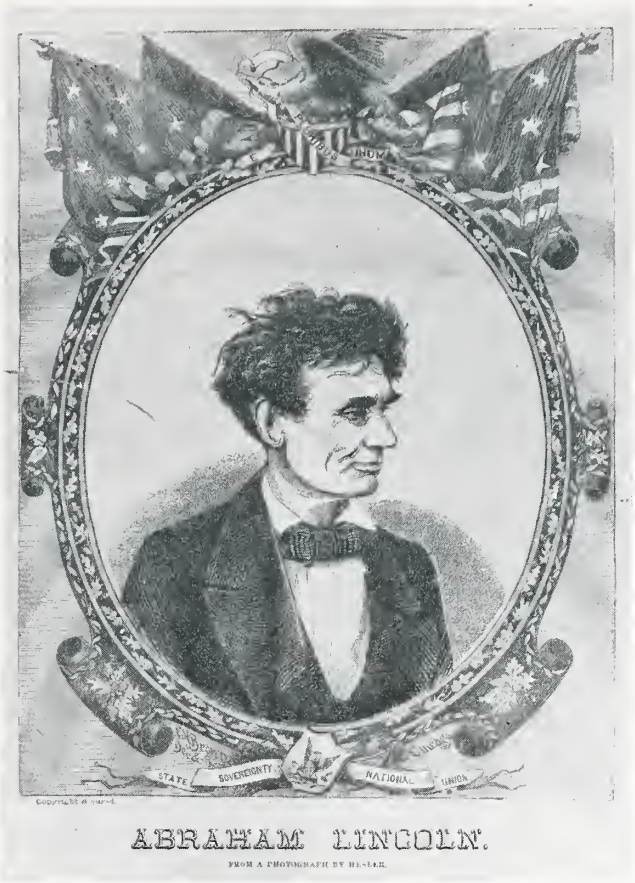
While we would earnestly urge the nomination of these distinguished Statesmen, convinced as we are that they are the men for the times, in whose hands the honor of the Government, and the cause of free soil, may with safety be confided, it is not our purpose to reflect upon any of the other distinguished candidates, or to disparage their claims to the nomination.

The policy of the Democratic party has a tendency to degrade free labor, to give the slave power control of the Government, to fix slavery upon territory now free, and to re-open that greatest of all iniquities, the African slave trade. To this policy, and such doctrines, we are unalterably opposed. Like the Father of our country, we are opposed to the spread of slavery into any new territory, and believe that Congress has entire control over the territories for their government, a doctrine which met the approval of the founders of our Republic, received their sanction, and was exercised by Congress from the organization of the government until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854.

The heresy that slavery exists in the territories of the United States, under the Constitution, is in direct antagonism with the Constitution, which declares that Congress shall make all needful rules and regulations for the government of the territories, and

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

This rare pamphlet published in the early months of 1860 is not listed in the Monaghan bibliography.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

For a number of years the Foundation has had in its picture files this print of Abraham Lincoln made from a woodcut which bears the following pencil notation in the handwriting of George William Curtis: "These prints were showered through the Wigwam immediately after Mr. Lincoln's nomination, May 1860."

little doubt but what Lincoln's speech at Bloomington was the immediate cause for pushing him forward at Philadelphia, as a candidate for the vice-presidency on the proposed ticket of the newly organized party. It was the enthusiasm at Bloomington which carried over to Philadelphia and resulted in Lincoln catching the national eye. While still under the spell of Lincoln's Lost Speech, delegates from Illinois were planning to attend the first nation-wide convention of the party to be held in Philadelphia on June 19. There seems to have been little emphasis placed on the proximity of the Bloomington and Philadelphia dates, only three weeks intervening.

Lincoln was probably one of the most surprised men in America when he polled 110 votes on the first ballot, as a vice-presidential nominee. There is no evidence that Lincoln was informed that his name was to be put forward for this office before the assembly convened, and apparently there was no concerted drive to elect him to the office after the convention opened.

James H. Matheney is said to have told Henry C. Whitney that "Lincoln's first real specific aspirations for the presidency dated from the incident of his being named in the convention as a candidate for vice president." Whitney further states that on June 20th he was in court at Urbana with Judge Davis and Lincoln, and read to Lincoln from a Chicago paper of that date that Lincoln had received 110 votes for the vice-presidency on the Republican ticket. According to Whitney, Lincoln's only reaction to the news was: "I reckon that ain't me; there's another great man in Massachusetts named Lincoln, and I reckon it's him."

It does not seem possible that the building in which the first Republican Convention in America was held could become obscured so that it bears no external evidence, in the form of a bronze marker, of its historic significance. The Musical Fund Hall where the Republicans convened in 1856 still stands in downtown Philadelphia, on the south side of Locust Street between 8th and 9th. While it is now used commercially, it is still in a fine state of preservation, and the interior lines of the auditorium have been more or less preserved in spite of a few partitions which have been erected.

The young Republican party of Illinois looked upon the 1858 senatorial contest as a real test of its strength, and long before the state convention was announced for June 19, Abraham Lincoln was generally accepted to be the candidate. Lincoln looked upon the canvass as a test of his own personal strength although votes would not be cast for him directly, but for candidates for the legislature who favored him.

After Lincoln's official nomination and the delivery of his "House Divided" acceptance speech, his fame began to spread throughout the nation, as revealed in some correspondence received by Lincoln from Charles H. Ray, then at Norwich, N.Y. Ray wrote in part:

"You are like Byron, who woke up one morning to find himself famous . . ." He further commented that even in obscure places he found "hundreds of anxious enquirers wishing to know all about the newly raised up opponent of Douglas . . . You have sprung at once from the position of a 'capital fellow' and a 'leading lawyer' in Illinois to the enjoyment of a national reputation."

The Lincoln-Douglas debates gave Lincoln nation-wide publicity. Here he had occasion to refer to the prominence of Douglas and then contrast his own position. He said, "All the anxious politicians of his (Douglas') party . . . have been looking upon him as certain at no distant date to be the president of the United States . . . On the contrary nobody has every expected me to be president."

The famous letter which Lincoln wrote to his friend, Dr. A. G. Henry, on November 19, 1858, which contains the clause, "Though I now sink out of view, and shall be forgotten" is made more striking by Dr. Henry's reply to it from Lafayette, Oregon Territory. It follows in part: "You will not 'sink out of sight' as you seem to anticipate, nor will you be forgotten. The people, the great and glorious people, will bear you on their memories until the time comes for putting you in possession of their house at Washington which *they are bound to do in their own good time.*"

By the spring of 1859, Lincoln's political ambitions for some recognition in the 1860 campaign, began to send their roots down a little deeper. Apparently his note to T. J. Pickett of Rock Island on March 5, stating: "I do not think I am fit for the Presidency," was not very convincing because Pickett wrote to him a week later as to "the policy of announcing your name for the Presidency." The day after Pickett's communication, Salmon Portland Chase wrote to Lincoln as follows: "Permit me to congratulate you on the present aspect of the Republican cause." Then, referring to the debates he said, "The people will not forget the champion who merited, if circumstances did not permit him to achieve, victory."

Coming from such a prominent figure as Chase, this must have encouraged Lincoln to think of still further cultivating the good will of the people in nearby states. Possibly the most significant visit was to Chase's own state, Ohio. The reaction to his speeches was so enthusiastic that he could have had no further doubt about being "fit" for a presidential candidacy, at least. Sam Galloway wrote from Columbus on October 13: "His (Chase's) nomination for the presidency would sink us . . . Your name should be used in the canvass for candidates. Your visit to Ohio has created an extensive interest in you." A by-product of the Ohio visit was the publication of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates.

Early in October 1859, an editorial appeared in the *Lancaster* (Pennsylvania) *Examiner*, proposing Simon Cameron for President on the 1860 Republican ticket. Later in the month Lincoln received a letter from W. E. Frazer, a Pennsylvania Republican, stating the purpose of the friends of Simon Cameron to sponsor his nomination at the forthcoming Republican Convention. Lincoln replied to Frazer's letter on November 1, 1850, and referred to the proposed Cameron-Lincoln ticket as follows:

"I shall be heartily for it, after it shall have been nominated by a Republican National Convention; and

I cannot be committed to it before." To further clarify his position, Lincoln stated in the letter to Frazer, "I would not like the public to know, so I would not like myself to know, I had entered a combination with any man to the prejudice of all others whose friends respectively may consider them preferable."

The Pennsylvania editorial, suggesting Cameron and Lincoln as candidates, was reprinted, and the circulars were distributed in Illinois. One Chicago paper in its issue of November 14, 1859 stated that the ticket should be reversed to read, Lincoln and Cameron.

The Cameron and Lincoln Club of the city of Chicage was organized late in the year 1859, or early in the month of January 1860. Fernando Jones, who had been chosen chairman of the Executive Committee, wrote to Lincoln on January 10th asking for material for a brief sketch of his life. Lincoln replied five days later with these words:

"Our Republican friend, J. W. Fell, of Bloomington, Illinois, can furnish you the material for a brief sketch of my history, if it be desired."

There has come into the possession of the Lincoln National Life Foundation an item entitled, *Address of the Cameron and Lincoln Club of the City of Chicago, Illinois to the People of the North West.* It is 5½"x8¾" and contains eight pages. The article is signed by Fernando Jones. It was "published by order of the Club," by Charles V. Dyer, President, and Jo. W. Bell, Secretary.

Norman Judd, who had been largely responsible for having Chicago selected as the convention city, and who was one of the earliest of the ardent Lincoln supporters for the Presidency, addressed the Cameron-Lincoln Club in Chicago on February 10, 1860. Whether or not he spoke to win supporters for himself in the governor's race, or attempted to have the Club turn their ticket about face, we are not advised.

An interesting sequel occurred to the Cameron-Lincoln enterprise. On February 25th Lincoln was passing through Philadelphia on his way to New York to speak at Cooper Institute. Someone in Philadelphia, who was apparently on the lookout for Lincoln, handed him the cards of Simon Cameron and David Wilmot. The day following, Lincoln, then in New York, sent the following letter to Cameron:

"New York, Feb. 26, 1860.

"Hon. Simon Cameron:

"Dear Sir

"I write this to say the card of yourself, and Hon. David Wilmot, was handed me yesterday at Philadelphia, just as I was leaving for this city — I barely had time to step over to the Girard, when I learned that you and he were not at your room — I regret that being so near, we did not meet, but hope we may yet meet before a great while—

"Will you please forward the enclosed to Mr. Wilmot, as I do not remember his address?—

Yours truly,
"A. Lincoln."

The organization more responsible than any other group for bringing Abraham Lincoln to the attention of the people was the Young Men's Republican Union of New York City. Their sponsorship of Lincoln's speech at Cooper Institute on February 27, 1860 brought him before the people of the East in a most favorable light and actually put him on the track for the Presidency. Preliminary to this eventful episode he had been merely vice-presidential timber. The significance of Abraham Lincoln's appearance at Cooper Institute has been somewhat obscured by the erroneous supposition that it was but a stop en route to visit with his son, then in school at Exeter, New Hampshire. By the time Lincoln received the invitation to visit New York the political importance of such an appearance outweighed filial considerations which he may have entertained. James A. Briggs, at the close of Lincoln's speech, was called upon for a comment and this is what he said:

"One of the three gentlemen, fellow-citizens, will be our standard bearers this year in the Presidential contest: the distinguished senator from New York, William H. Seward; the late able and distinguished governor of Ohio, Salmon P. Chase; or the 'Unknown Knight' who entered the political lists against the Bois-Guilbert of Democracy, Stephen A. Douglas, and unhorsed him—Abraham Lincoln."

The young men who entertained Lincoln at New York were apparently thinking in terms of a Seward-Lincoln ticket, and Lincoln himself must have thought Seward to be a more likely successful candidate than Cameron. R. C. McCormick, a member of the committee that greeted Lincoln, states that a conversation which Lincoln had with an Illinois friend in New York makes it appear that he had been approached by the Seward group, as Lincoln said: "If they make me vice president with Seward, as some say they will . . ." and then Lincoln observed how this might affect him economically.

After Lincoln's trip into New England where he made eleven speeches, but none in Massachusetts which state had already come out favoring Seward, he returned to New York where he was again received by the young men responsible for his earlier visit. One of the committees is said to have advised him that when he came they thought he might make a good running mate for Seward, but after hearing him they were for him for the presidency regardless of what happened to Seward.

In November 1859 there was a concerted action on the part of Cameron's friends to line up Lincoln as Vice President on a ticket headed by Cameron. Henry J. Raymond declared that the speech at Cooper Institute "made Mr. Lincoln the second choice of the great body of Republicans of New York." Raymond further stated that in conversation with a friend in New York it is implied that Lincoln had evidently been approached about the vice-presidency. Possibly the same speech may have helped Horace Greeley choose his ticket composed of Dayton and Lincoln. One paper in the West was advocating Chase and Lincoln as a strong ticket.

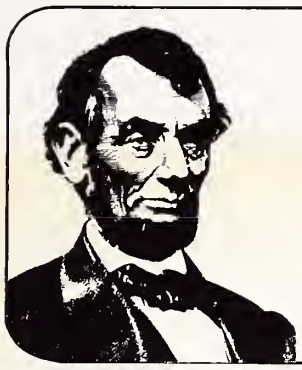
Professor Randall in referring to Lincoln's chances for the presidency in 1860 after suggesting Lincoln's strength in the West, states that one of the threats that Lincoln had to guard against was that "The Lincoln movement would be side tracked into the vice presidency."

A few weeks before the Chicago convention, Lincoln replied to a letter from Samuel Galloway of Ohio, "My name is new in the field, and I presume I am not the first choice of a very great many. Our policy, then, is to give no offense to others,—leave them in a mood to come to us if they shall be compelled to give up their first love. This, too, is dealing justly with all, and leaving us in a mood to support heartily whoever shall be nominated." Lincoln's process of selling himself on the presidential idea was evolutionary and he gradually elevated his vice-presidential sights of 1856 to the presidential aspirations of 1860, not suddenly but gradually and with more assurance after the Cooper Union speech.

Apparently Lincoln was still flirting with the vice-presidency possibility as late as the opening of the Chicago convention. His friends at Chicago had a quantity of lithographs made from one of his pictures ready for distribution at the convention. The Foundation is fortunate in having one of these prints, which was once in the possession of George William Curtis, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, who attended the convention. A penciled note by Curtis on the border of the print states: "These prints were showered through the Wigwam immediately after Mr. Lincoln's nomination May 1860." Mr. Curtis' statement about the time element in the distribution of the pictures raises many questions. Why the picture of Lincoln, an active candidate for the Presidency, should not have been distributed before the presidential balloting, may have been another part of the Lincoln strategy of remaining not too "prominent." That Lincoln's followers already had them available for distribution before Lincoln's nomination is evident. It also seems likely that they had instructions as to when the copies were to be released.

The absence of any personal citation on the print about Mr. Lincoln arouses more interest than the printed data. There is no statement that he is a candidate for any office, and there is no mention of the Wigwam Convention. Could the pictures have been printed with the idea of using them in an emergency during the balloting for the Presidency? Or were they prepared primarily for the vice-presidency contest?—in case Lincoln should lose out in his quest for the higher office? Putting forth a tremendous last-minute effort at Chicago, John Wentworth had advised Lincoln, "It should nominate you to one of the offices."

The article "Lincolniana Auction Prices — 1914" which was featured in the August issue and scheduled to be continued in this issue will be continued in the October number.



Lincoln Lore

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THE VICE-PRESIDENCY TWICE BECKONS LINCOLN

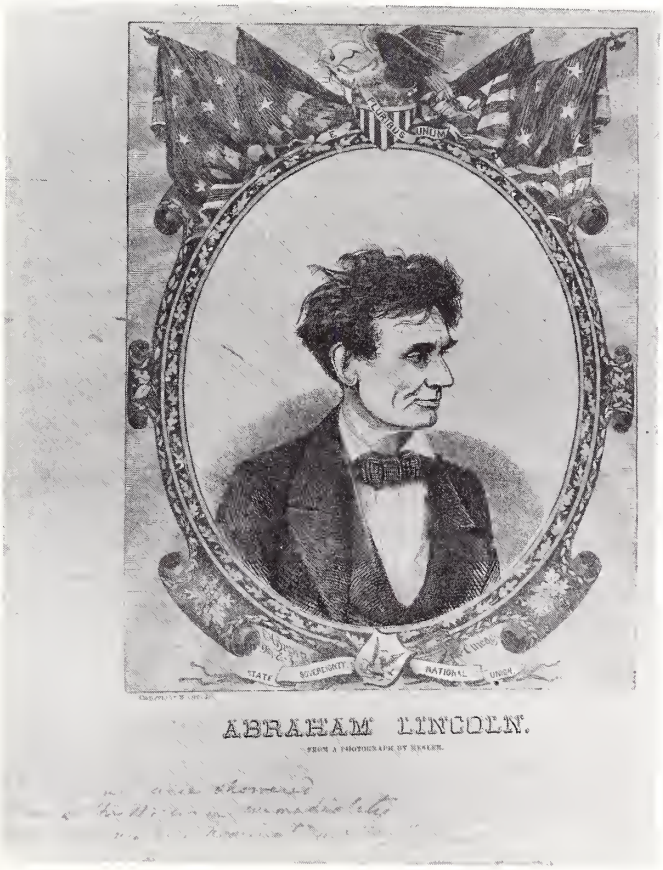
by Louis A. Warren

Editor's Note: The history of the Lincoln National Life Foundation now spans forty-seven years. In that time it has had only three directors, all of whom are still active in the Lincoln field. Dr. Louis A. Warren, our first director, is ninety years old this month and has graciously consented to do this guest article for *Lincoln Lore.* Dr. Warren entered the Lincoln field in 1926 with a book, *Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood,* which Benjamin Thomas has called "the most thoroughly documented study of the Lincolns' Kentucky years." Thomas adds, "Warren is chiefly responsible for our more favorable view of Thomas Lincoln." Almost fifty years later, Dr. Warren is still making contributions to the Lincoln field.

M.E.N., Jr.

Press, radio, and television, over the past several months, have been giving preferential attention to sensational stories associated with the Vice-Presidency of the Nation. The climax may have been reached in a meticulous investigation by Congress into the private life of the recently installed incumbent. With the public eye still focused on this controversial office, it would appear to be a favorable time to observe how Abraham Lincoln reacted upon twice being recommended as a candidate for the next to the highest office in our political system.

The unimpressive status of the position through the years is well set forth in the December, 1974, issue of *American History Illustrated,* under the abridged title, "Forgotten Men." This publication of the National Historical Society calls attention to the forty Vice-Presidents who have occupied the office up to August, 1974. Thirteen of them were elevated to the Presidency, and seven others were selected who will be remembered for episodes unrelated to the office routine. The remaining twenty, or one half the total number of the men occupying this high station, were grouped in a category described as, "men past-recollection."



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

This lithograph of "Abraham Lincoln" from a photograph by Hesler bears the imprint of E. H. Brown, Del & Sc, Chicago. On the lower margin there is a pencil notation by George William Curtis: "These prints were showered through the Wigwam immediately after Mr. Lincoln's nomination May 1860. (Geo. Wm. Curtis)." The Lincoln National Life Foundation also owns another print of this same lithograph which carries a notation in ink by John G. Nicolay: "The above was circulated in Chicago on the day of Lincoln's first nomination for President." These are the only two known examples of this lithograph in existence.

One commentator, on referring to the insignificance of the position, referred to it as a "sinecure," which, according to Webster, is "an office or position of value which involves little or no responsibility or service." One authority refers to the holder of the title as, "A second-rate man agreeable to the wire pullers, always smuggled in."

Occasionally, during the past few years, the advancement of the Vice-President to the Presidency through constitutional procedure has occurred. This has had a tendency to make the office seem more desirable than heretofore. The recent appointment to the Vice-Presidency of a well known statesman of recognized ability, a member of one of America's first families, may suggest a revision of the public opinion about the status of the formerly unwanted office. Certainly it will be more inviting to the political aspirants.

Before this new appraisal of the seat is accepted, it is important that it should be reviewed in retrospect to appreciate more fully how Abraham Lincoln, fortunately, escaped the ordeal of the

Vice-Presidency. The earliest threat was at the first National Republican Convention in Philadelphia in 1856 and once again at the convocation in the Chicago Wigwam in 1860.

Abraham Lincoln's political rebirth occurred about five years after he had served a term in Congress. His return to the political forum is recorded in a third-person autobiographical sketch: "In 1854, his profession had almost superseded the thought of politics in his mind, when the repeal of the Missouri compromise aroused him as he had never been before." Inasmuch as the repeal was passed by the Senate on March 5, 1854, and subsequently signed by the President, it was called the birthday of the newly organized Republican party. The official birthday was later established as July 6, 1854.

An observer's account of Lincoln's return to the political scene is recorded by Richard Yates, at what is known as "The Springfield Jubilee," celebrating the Republican victories in 1860. He stated: "I had spoken and voted against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and when on my return home at the close of the long session of 1854, having published a card that I would not be a candidate for re-election, I was met at the depot in Springfield by Mr. Lincoln. He said I had taken the right course on this question, and though he could not promise me success in a district so largely against us, yet he hoped for the sake of the principle, I would run, and if I would, he would take the stump in my behalf."

Lincoln briefly referred to the original Compromise in these words: "At length a compromise was made, in which, like all compromises, both sides yielded something. It was a law passed on the 6th day of March, 1820, providing that Missouri might come into the Union *with* slavery, but that in all the remaining part of the territory purchased of France, which lies north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, slavery should never be permitted."

Four months after Lincoln had been awakened by its repeal and had again entered the political arena, another incident occurred which greatly stimulated his newly acquired interest in the "No Extension of Slavery" movement. On July 10, 1854, Cassius Marcellus Clay of Lexington, Kentucky, a relative of Henry Clay, paid a visit to Springfield. The presence of the anti-slavery exponent in the capital city must have aroused in Mary Todd Lincoln many reminiscences of her early Lexington days. While Cassius was attending Transylvania University in Lexington, the dormitory burned and Cassius was one of the students who found temporary lodging in the Todd home. He stated on one occasion: "I was on very agreeable terms with the Todd Family, who were always my avowed friends during my antislavery career." He later graduated from Yale, and, while in New Haven, he was greatly influenced by William Lloyd Garrison and became an exponent of the abolitionist's philosophy. Later, at Lexington, a month before his visit to Springfield, he established an anti-slavery newspaper called *The True American.*

Upon Clay's visit to Springfield, the Secretary of State refused him permission to speak in the State House. Cassius responded that even in his own state — a slave state — the common courtesy of citizenship had never been withheld from him; no court-house or state-house door had ever been shut in his face. He gave his speech in Mather's Grove. This rebuff recalls an incident which illustrates the dynamic personality of Cassius Clay.

A Kentucky town in which he was to speak posted warnings that "no anti-slavery speeches will be permitted under penalty of death." Upon Clay's arrival, says William H. Townsend in *Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town,* "he walked unattended down the center aisle of the packed court-room, mounted the rostrum and calmly faced the muttering, jostling crowd." These were his introductory remarks: "'For those who support the laws of the country,' he announced in an even, steady voice, 'I have this argument,' and he placed a copy of the Constitution on one end of the table. 'For those who believe in the Bible, I have an argument from this,' and he placed a copy of the New Testament on the other end of the table. 'And for those who regard neither the laws of God or man I have this argument,' and he laid a brace of long black-barreled pistols with his bowie-knife on the table in front of him. Then he plunged, without interruption, into his speech."

Sometime after Clay returned from the Springfield visit he remarked: "Lincoln gave me a most patient hearing. I shall never forget his long, ungainly form, and his ever sad and homely face. . . . I flatter myself, when [I recall how] Lincoln listened to my animated appeals for universal liberty for more than two hours, that I sowed seed in good ground, which in the providence of God produced in time good fruit."

The Illinois contingent of the newly organized party was somewhat tardy in perfecting the state organization, but on May 29, 1856, a state convention was called to meet at Bloomington. Among the many speeches made, the closing address by Lincoln was easily the feature of the day and possibly his most eloquent declaration during his Illinois years. It became known as "The Lost Speech," inasmuch as the reporters became entranced by his oratory and no one of them made an available recording of it.

The Washington press on January 17, 1856, published a call to "The Republicans of the Union to meet at Pittsburg on the 22nd. of February, for the purpose of perfecting a national organization." Another incentive was "the providing for a National Delegate Convention of the Republican Party on a subsequent date, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency." There was also released an urgent appeal to take a stand on "the only great issue now before the Country—slavery or freedom."

Nineteen days after the Illinois convocation at Bloomington, the national convention opened its sessions at Philadelphia on Tuesday, June 17, 1856. The permanent chairman was Colonel Henry S. Lane of Indiana. John C. Fremont of California was chosen as the Presidential nominee on the first ballot. The chief order of business for the second day was the selection of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. The trial ballot for the nomination recorded these several aspirants with the total number of votes each one received: William L. Dayton, New Jersey, 253; Nathaniel P. Banks, Massachusetts, 46; Abraham Lincoln, Illinois, 110; David Wilmot, Pennslyvania, 43; John A. King, New York, 9; Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, 35; Lieut. Thomas Ford, Ohio, 7; Cassius M. Clay, Kentucky, 3; Jacob Collamer, Vermont, 15; Joshua R. Giddings, Ohio, 2; Whitfield S. Johnson, New Jersey, 2; Henry C. Carey, Pennsylvania, 3; Aaron S. Pennington, New Jersey, 1; Henry Wilson, Massachusetts, 1; Gen. Samuel C. Pomeroy, Kansas, 8. It will be observed that Dayton received less than one half the total votes, while Lincoln was given twice as many votes as any of the other participating candidates.

A Pennsylvania delegate, John Allison, placed Lincoln's name in nomination, but, when the totals showed a majority of the votes were cast for Dayton, in order to reach a unanimous choice, Lincoln's name was withdrawn, followed by all of the other competitors. During the nominating speeches, Lincoln received many complimentary comments. It was an honor indeed to be the runner-up and a popular candidate for the Vice-Presidential nomination at the first national convention of the newly organized Republican party.

One of the stories of how Lincoln was first informed about the results of the voting, associates him with David Davis, the presiding judge on the Eighth Judicial Circuit of Illinois, where Lincoln practiced law. Davis was at the hotel in the town where the court was in session, when the mail arrived with news from the convention. He observed Lincoln coming down the street which caused him frantically to wave the paper reporting that Lincoln had received 110 votes for the Vice-Presidency at the convention. When Lincoln arrived and was given the information, he commented: "I reckon that ain't me; there's another great man in Massachusetts named Lincoln, and I reckon it's him." But, he was mistaken.

Seven years earlier Lincoln had visited the Bay State where he had spoken in favor of Zachary Taylor, Whig candidate for the Presidency. His schedule brought him to Worcester on September 13, 1848, where he was entertained at dinner in the home of Levi Lincoln, mayor of the city, and the Governor of the State from 1825 to 1834. Several distinguished guests were present and one of them recalled: "I well remember the jokes between Governor Lincoln and Abraham Lincoln as to their presumed relationship." At last the latter said: "I *hope* we belong, as the Scotch say, to the same clan; but I *know* one thing, and that is, that we are both good Whigs."

This episode recalls a visit which the author made to this same house in which Abraham Lincoln was entertained. My host, Waldo Lincoln, grandson of Levi Lincoln, mentioned at dinner that I was seated in the same position at the table, possibly in the same chair, which Abraham Lincoln had occupied, when a guest in 1848. It was the above mentioned Waldo

Lincoln who prepared the exhaustive genealogy of the Lincoln Family, showing the relationship of the Illinois and the Worcester, Massachusetts, branches. Abraham had properly identified Levi as "the great man in Massachusetts named Lincoln." Sidetracked by ancestral and personal references, we should return to Philadelphia for a final comment.

It is evident from Abraham's complete surprise and apparent confusion about the identity of the Lincoln who had been the runner-up on the trial ballot at Philadelphia, that he was unaware of any state-wide plans, then underway or previously made, to place his name among the candidates for the Vice-Presidential nomination in 1856. While his term in Congress had been of local significance, the beckoning gesture for the national office had lifted him out of local politics and raised him to a station of nationwide attention. He could now be considered as a leading Western representative of the newly organized Republican party.

One of his earliest recognitions of leadership was revealed in the state convention of 1858, which named him, "The first and only choice for a seat in the United States Senate." His acceptance address, which clearly set forth the issue for the subsequent campaign, became known as "The House Divided Speech," so designated because of his startling premise, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

His opponent in the contest, Stephen A. Douglas, was nationally known and the series of debates arranged attracted the attention of political America. Recognizing Douglas as the key figure in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and Lincoln as the chief Western spokesman for the "No Extension of Slavery" contingent, the contest became something more than a local combat. While Lincoln failed to gain the senatorial seat, he did poll the larger number of popular votes and established himself as the leading Westerner opposed to the extension of slavery.

Lincoln's rise to fame, because of his solid arguments during the debates, assured for him serious consideration for a place on the national ticket of his party in the next Republican Convention. One of the earliest feelers which arrived was a letter from Thomas J. Pickett of Rock Island, suggesting that the press of Illinois put Lincoln forward for the Presidency of the United States. On April 16, 1859, Lincoln replied to this suggestion as follows: ". . . I do not think myself fit for the Presidency. I certainly am flattered, and gratified, that some partial friends think of me in that connection. . . ." Reflecting on the vote at the Philadelphia Convention, he may have felt he was "fit" for the Vice-Presidency.

Two books were published in 1859, presenting the names of those who might be contestants in the presidential race of 1860. One was by D. W. Bartlett with the title, *Presidential Candidates,* listing twenty-one prospective contenders. The other was by John Savage with the caption, *Our Living Representative Men,* noting thirty-four qualified leaders. It is noteworthy that the later published Savage book named all of the Bartlett list with but two exceptions. This combined list of important men might serve as a political "Who's Who" for 1860 and is submitted with party affiliations noted:.

Democrat: John Minor Botts, John C. Breckenridge, Albert G. Brown, Howell Cobb, Caleb Cushing, George M. Dallas, Jefferson Davis, Daniel S. Dickinson, Stephen A. Douglas, James Guthrie, James H. Hammond, Sam Houston, R.M.T. Hunter, Andrew Johnson, Joseph Lane, James L. Orr, John M. Read, Horatio Seymour, John Slidell, Alexander H. Stephens, Henry A. Wise.

Constitutional Union: John Bell, John J. Crittenden, Edward Everett, Millard Fillmore.

Republican: Nathaniel P. Banks, Edward Bates, Simon Cameron, Salmon P. Chase, William L. Dayton, John C. Fremont, John P. Hale, John McLean, William H. Seward, Henry Wilson.

Unclassified: John E. Wool.

It is not strange that the name of Lincoln is missing, as the manuscripts were prepared before his name had become prominent in the East. His address at Cooper Union in New York City on February 27, 1860, and the subsequent trip to New England are recognized as his introduction to that section of the country. The Cooper Union Address before the Young Men's Republican Union of New York is accepted as the most comprehensive political address which he had given up to that time.

One of the aspirants for the Presidency in 1860 was Simon Cameron, a Senator from Pennsylvania. As early as October 14, W.E. Fraser, one of his supporters, wrote to Lincoln proposing a Cameron-Lincoln combination for the Republican ticket. On November 1, 1859, Lincoln replied: ". . . I shall be heartily for it, *after* it shall have been fairly nominated by a Republican national convention. . . ." This statement documents the assertion, that he was not irresponsive to being named as a Vice-Presidential candidate, but the reply also left open the opportunity for an ultimate decision before the convention was called to order. Lincoln's refusal to approve the ticket immediately did not prevent the publication of a campaign pamphlet entitled *Address of the Cameron And Lincoln Club of the City of Chicago, Ill., To The People Of The North West.* This final appeal in the pamphlet gives emphasis to Lincoln's anticipated contribution as a member of the team: "The nomination of Mr. Lincoln will secure us the votes of Illinois and Indiana, and we hope to carry Oregon and California also. We *may* succeed with other candidates; with Cameron and Lincoln, we *will.*"

Lincoln, when en route to New York for his speech at Cooper Union, while passing through Philadelphia, was handed the cards of Simon Cameron and David Wilmot but was unable to contact them before leaving the city. Four months had passed since they first solicited Lincoln's partnership on the ticket, but apparently they feared he would make some agreement about the Vice-Presidency with Seward, while in New York. It is evident that a Seward-Lincoln ticket had already been proposed.

It seems probable that the Young Men's Republican Union may have had some specific reason for offering Lincoln 200 dollars to speak in New York, and very likely it had political relevancy. His appearance was a rousing success and his introduction to leading celebrities of the East opened up new political horizons.

En route to New Hampshire to visit his son Robert, attending Exeter Academy, he was joined on the train by Frederick Smyth who was to introduce him at Manchester. Lincoln had been reading an address Seward had delivered before the United States Senate, and laying the paper down he said to Smyth, "That speech will make Mr. Seward the next President of the United States." However, when Smyth came to the conclusion of his introductory remarks, in presenting Lincoln he said: "The next President of the United States!"

An interesting phase of his New England trip was his purposely passing through Massachusetts without making a single speech. The state had already announced its support of Seward, and apparently Lincoln did not wish to exhibit any display of rivalry. Upon his return to New York, however, the situation there seems to have changed. One of the young men advised him: "When he came, they thought he might make a good running mate for Seward, but after hearing him, they are for him for President, regardless of what happens to Seward."

Succeeding the New York visit, Lincoln was the most coveted Vice-Presidential candidate in the nation. These possible pairings were published in the press: Cameron and Lincoln, Seward and Lincoln, Chase and Lincoln, also Horace Greeley's choice, Dayton and Lincoln, possibly others. In 1860 the Vice-Presidency beckoned Lincoln in preference to all others. Lincoln had numerous advantages as a Vice-Presidential nominee (and, as it turned out, as a Presidential nominee). Unlike Salmon Chase and Simon Cameron, who had bitter factional enemies in their home states, Lincoln's support in Illinois was secure and united, and the Republicans needed Illinois. Unlike Cameron and Edward Bates, he was sound on the slavery issue because he had steadily opposed slavery as a moral evil. He had an instinct, too, for avoiding controversial stands on unessential issues. Personally temperate, Lincoln had avoided the prohibition agitation, especially when it became a hot issue in Illinois after 1853. Despising the principles of the Know-Nothing agitation, Lincoln avoided public condemnations of that party's adherents. He also avoided the side issue of disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Law.

Abraham's auspicious speaking itinerary in the East gave a new impetus to his political aspirations considering the forthcoming convention. David Davis appears to have assumed the leadership of the voluntary group of Lincoln's supporters, combining their strength with the Chicago constituency. When the convention opened, it appeared like a one-man show with Seward apparently so far ahead it forecast a

"no contest." One news correspondent put it this way: "Senator Seward is head and shoulders above all competitors, in experience, in statesmanship, in authority, in influence, in every quality which can fit a man for the Presidency." Horace Greeley, the night before the balloting began, advised his *New York Tribune* associates that Seward would be victorious. It is known he was violently opposed to Seward.

The printer's delay in making the ballots ready, causing postponement of the balloting to the following day, was greatly in Lincoln's favor, as during the night considerable opposition to Seward had been generated. There were four, and possibly more, objections which caused the dissatisfaction: 1. He had failed to gain the support of important Pennsylvania. 2. Greeley and his *New York Tribune* were against him. 3. Corruption in the Legislature of New York while he was governor. 4. The dictatorial manner of his delegates at the convention.

The fact that Lincoln had been the Vice-Presidential choice of all the leading opponents gave him a great advantage over any other second choice. The first ballot gave Seward, 193, Lincoln, 102; second, Seward, 184, Lincoln, 181; third, Lincoln, 354, Seward, 110 1/2. No other candidate polled more than 50 1/2 votes.

One of the most convincing exhibits to support the supposition that there was a concerted effort to procure the Vice-Presidential nomination for Lincoln is a poster of his profile, now on display in the Lincoln National Life Foundation. On the margin of this eight and one-half by eleven inch lithograph is this note inscribed by George William Curtis, a Seward delegate from New York: "These prints were showered through the Wigwam immediately after Mr. Lincoln's nomination." There is no printed information on the broadside to reveal what office this pictorial candidate seeks, no name of the sponsoring organization, nor even the commercial printer. The fact that the circulars were not distributed until after Mr. Lincoln had been nominated for the Presidency, eliminates any indication that they were prepared as flyers to assist in his nomination for the Chief Executive office in the Nation.

Three possible distributors of the handbills were the Seward, Cameron, and Lincoln committees. The fact that Curtis of New York made no comment in his inscribed note about the origin of the posters, implies that the Seward group had no part in the distribution and no desire to boost Lincoln. The most likely sponsors were the Cameron-Lincoln loyalists, the earliest public advocates of Lincoln for the Vice-Presidency. Their western offices were in Chicago where the "tousled hair" photograph was made and used in producing the lithograph. While its rustic appearance would win votes in the West, it is doubtful if it would have any value in garnering votes in the East.

It is evident that the Lincoln convention group had nothing to do with the origin of the "tousled hair" flyer. The failure to use it before or during the balloting for the Presidency almost nullifies any connection of the lithograph with Lincoln's winning the office.

The distribution of the prints, however, does present a strong argument that Lincoln was a recognized contender for the Vice-Presidency at the Wigwam Convention. The conclusion might also be drawn, that inasmuch as Lincoln was the publicized selection for the minor office of at least four of the Presidential hopefuls, it is quite natural that if their first choice failed, the delegates would swing to their junior partner on the ticket as their next choice, to salvage at least a part of their original ticket. There seems to have been little attention paid to the potential strength of these original supporters of Abraham Lincoln as Vice-President.

Lincoln's reflections on the Vice-Presidency did not cease with his own nomination to the higher office. Quite naturally, he would have considerable interest in the selection of his running mate. He must have observed with more than common curiosity that in the balloting for the nomination the runner-up to the successful nominee was none other than Cassius Marcellus Clay. He had been active in securing Lincoln's nomination for the Presidency and made a speech from which this argument is excerpted: "It makes a great deal of difference to you whom you nominate. . . and it makes a much more vital difference to us [Kentuckians]. . . . We call upon you to nominate Abraham Lincoln, who knows us and understands our aspirations."

Even before Lincoln had an opportunity to meet the Vice-Presidential nominee, Hannibal Hamlin of Hamden, Maine, there were certain press releases that made Lincoln anxious to confer with his partner for the subsequent campaign. No sooner had the names of the two successful candidates reached the East than some newspapers announced surprise and dissatisfaction with the selections. One of the first reactions was the arrangement of the names of the victorious contestants. Many regarded Hamlin, an Eastern man, to be superior to his Western associate and referred to the combination as "The Upside-down Ticket."

While the new Presidential nominee may not have been as well known as Hamlin, the name Lincoln was a household word with the Hamlins. When Hannibal was but nine years old, a lawyer from Worcester, Massachusetts, whose name was Enoch Lincoln, came to live in the Hamlin home. Within the next five years, Enoch was elected to Congress and next became Governor of the State of Maine. He was Hannibal's hero and eventually young Hamlin went to Congress and also became Governor of Maine. Enoch Lincoln was a brother of Levi Lincoln, the host of Abraham Lincoln at Worcester in 1848.

Inasmuch as this commentary has relied on current public sentiment for a congenial atmosphere in which to develop this argument, it would seem agreeable to bring it to a conclusion in a similar fashion. The first person who put in writing a declaration with reference to Abraham Lincoln's eventually becoming President of the United States, was not a contemporary politician, but a "woman," Mary Todd of Lexington, Kentucky. While she was living with her sister, Mrs. Ninian Edwards at Springfield, Illinois, she became engaged to, and later married, Abraham Lincoln, a member of the Illinois Legislature. She wrote to one of her girl friends, Margaret Wickliffe, a daughter of the Governor of Kentucky, and after a playful, but not a very flattering, description of the man of her choice, she continued: "But I mean to make him to be President of the United States all the same. You will see that, as I always told you, I will yet be the President's wife." Governor Wickliffe, years later, after Lincoln had become President, came across the letter and wrote on it this endorsement, "the most remarkable letter ever written by one girl."

Researchers observing the intellectual training this young lady acquired at Lexington, "The Athens of the West," are agreed that her advanced formal education was superior to that of any other First Lady who occupied the Executive Mansion up to the time of Mrs. Lincoln's tenure. The cultural atmosphere which she created and nourished in her home, barely mentioned by most of her biographers, contributed greatly to the mental capacity of her husband.

We have observed that Lincoln was first a prospect for national recognition by becoming the runner-up in the contest for the nomination of Vice-President in the first National Republican Convention at Philadelphia in 1856. This nod, for one of the two Chief Executive offices, may have contributed more to his political advancement than we have recognized.

The multiple nods made to Lincoln as a Vice-Presidential nominee in the campaign of 1860 are almost inconceivable. It is doubtful if, ever before or since, one political aspirant has been the first choice as a running mate by so many different candidates for the Presidential nomination. Would it be presumtuous to assume that these unusual political alliances may have been largely responsible in elevating him to the office which his superiors coveted? As the dwindling hopes for the first place on the ticket faded out, in order to salvage a part of the preferred combination, would they not swing to their junior partner rather than to one of their competitors?

The National Republican Convention, convening at the Chicago Wigwam in 1860, had the unique distinction of making a beckoning jesture to a Vice-Presidential hopeful and announced that Abraham Lincoln of Illinois was the duly elected Presidential nominee.

Garry Wills 8/18/76 Washington Star

Lincoln's raucous Wigwam

At a convention of surprise maneuvers, some people talk of disgrace brought on the party of Lincoln by the trickiness of a John Sears or Jesse Helms. But there is nothing Republicans can do in 1976 to shame the "Wigwam" Republican convention that chose Lincoln in 1860.

That was the largest convention held to that date, one where reformers and bosses used the same tricks on each other, and Lincoln's crew turned out to be the trickiest. The overwhelming favorite coming into the convention was William Seward, who was radical on the slave issue but had the backing of Thurlow Weed's New York machine.

Against this odd combination, milder reformers backed the "conservative" candidate, Edward Bates, with some hoping that Salmon P. Chase would serve as a compromise candidate.

But the convention was being held in Illinois, where Lincoln's apparatus could control the seating, issue tickets, delay printing of ballots, and use the mob. It did all these things in a riotous meeting that was described in the best convention coverage ever written by an American journalist.

Murat Halstead of the *Cincinnati Commercial* went to Chicago on a train filled with Seward's "irrepressibles" and noted that the young Republican party had nothing to learn from the Democrats about drunken conventions and dirty infighting.

Much of Halstead's classic description would apply to any convention, then or now: "Men gather in little groups and with their arms about each other chatter and whisper as if the fate of the country depended upon their immediate delivery of the mighty political secrets with which their imaginations are big."

But the special note of the Chicago meeting was the way Lincoln's forces delayed a vote during Seward's time of unchallenged primacy, working on delegates day and night. Halstead saw one governor who had joined Lincoln's forces staggering, haggard and pale, from caucus to caucus on the last night before roll call.

Meanwhile, Lincoln's lieutenants had bossed their way into the crucial Indiana and Pennsylvania delgations by promising the leaders of each group a Cabinet post — a promise Lincoln honored after the election. Halstead admired the skill of it all.

On the last day, Lincoln's people counterfeited extra tickets beyond the disproportionate amount they had already issued to Illinois rowdies. There were 10,000 people in and around the "Wigwam" screaming to the thousand delegates for their man. At first Halstead did not think Seward's New York thugs could be outdone. He described their roars this way

"The shouting was absolutely frantic, shrill and wild. No Comanches, no panthers ever struck a higher note, or gave screams with more infernal intensity. Looking from the stage over the vast amphitheater, nothing was to be seen below the thousands of hats — a black, mighty swam of hats — flying with the velocity of hornets over a mass of human heads, most of the mouths of which were open. Above, all around the galleries, hats and handkerchiefs were flying in the tempest together."

Then Lincoln's forces outdid that bedlam, two or three times the decibels. The screams of midday joined with the deals of midnight to give us our first Republican president, the sainted Lincoln. Halstead went home in disgust to say what journalists always say after a convention: There must be a better way to choose a president.

Well, maybe. But we clearly prefer this way. There were people running through the streets of Chicago carrying big log rails for their "rail-splitter candidate." And a gavel made of oak from Commodore Perry's flagship. And a Bowie knife seven feet long, weighing forty pounds. And Seward ribbons — one of which was stealthily pinned on the back of Seward's greatest foe in town, Horace Greeley.

The party of Lincoln was born in chaos. It could survive in its midst.

POLITICAL GOSSIP AND ANECDOTES.

Mr. Seward, in his disappointment, has manifested much manliness and dignity, and falls into the support of the man who supplanted him with becoming grace. He sets a noble example for Douglas, who is destined in all probability to be the victim of a similar disappointment at Baltimore.

When a return train from Chicago was passing through Winnebago, some of the delegates, in order to show their zeal for the "last of the three Abrahams," waved their handkerchiefs to some ladies who were watching the train. One of the "ladies," having nothing else to wave, took off one of her petticoats, and gave divers gyrations in the air. That was a delicate compliment. What would have been the garmental condition of the enthusiastic Republicaness had she been compelled to repeat the operation half a dozen times?

There are not many men in New England who can equal Mr. John C. Wyman in ready wit; but it seems he was put to the test during his excursion to Chicago. At one of the stations at which the train stopped for wood and water, the crowd demanded a speech. Mr. Wyman, who had been elected to speak at this place, should a speech be demanded, went forth, and mounted a cart attached to an ass. The moment that Mr. Wyman shouted "Fellow-citizens!" the donkey responded in one of his loudest brays. Mr. Wyman retorted, "Fellow-citizens, I am interrupted by a Demoorat!" This was ready, and occasioned great merriment; and so did the retort of the owner of the donkey, an Irishman, who exclaimed, "No, you ar'n't interrupted by a Dimicrat! 'Tis yer brother that's spakin' to yez, and askin' yez to whist!" Mr. Wyman bowed to Pat, and retired.

"Hoorah!"—The Chicago correspondent of a Washington journal gets off a "screed" about the "Old Abe fever" in this wise:

"One enthusiastic individual, not very well posted on politics or politicians, waited anxiously on the outskirts of the crowd to learn when the nomination was made. Like many others, he had heard nothing but Seward—Seward—Seward—for days before, from the busy lobby. When the shouting broke forth, he inquired eagerly, "Who's nominated?" and received for a reply, "Why, Old Abe, of course." This was enough, and starting down-street at a two-forty gait, our energetic inquirer rushed in hot haste into the midst of a crowd of friends, anxious to be the first bearer of the news, and shouted with stentorian lungs—'Hoorah, boys! The nomination's made! Three cheers for Old Abe Seward!'"

At the Lincoln and Hamlin ratification meeting in Salem, Mass., Mr. John A. Andrew, one of the delegates to the Chicago Convention, in the course of his speech said:

"He had for the first time in his life seen the wonders of Niagara, the western prairie, the far-famed artesian well, and for the first time had seen the start of a Presidential candidate; but when he looked upon that candidate—the tallest candidate who ever made the start—the mysteries of nature had dwindled into insignificance before that honest man, 'the noblest work of God.'"

Tom Corwin, it is said, has already supplied himself with one of the rails split by Old Abe Lincoln in 1830, which he will carry with him on his stump speech tour through Ohio in the coming campaign. Perhaps some extra copies of his own and Abe's speeches against the Mexican war, distributed among the Buckeyes, will aid in winning them over to the side of the tall Sucker. He voted along with Corwin to withhold supplies from our suffering soldiers in Mexico.

In 1848, Henry Clay, a candidate for the Presidency, was set aside, and General Taylor was nominated in his place. This act was approved by William H. Seward, who, in speaking of the matter before a great audience, used these memorable words: "*What is the Presidency of the United States compared with the fame of a patriotic statesman?*" This was spoken with direct reference to Mr. Clay. With equal propriety may the same question now be put to the friends of Mr. Seward.

The Chicago papers furnish the following report of General Nye's speech, at the Great Wigwam in that city on the evening after the "Great Irrepressible" had been slaughtered by Greeley and old Blair. The Mayor introduced General James W. Nye, of New York, who spoke as follows:

"We have in our State a law making it criminal to abuse animals. (Laughter.) I do not know what is the law in Illinois on that subject, but I think if there is any such statute it is openly violated now. (Laughter.) You all may sing one of the sweet songs of Zion, but my harp is on the willows. (Laughter.) I came here with a heart full of bounding hope. Expectation was on tip-toe that we should be able to present for the first office of the nation a man who has made his pathway luminous and illustrious with the bright attributes of pure statesmanship. But we failed. My heart, therefore, is full of anguish, and yet I feel as David was supposed to feel when the giant of Gath told him that it would sweeten death to fall by his right hand. (Laughter.) As my leader is stricken down low, there is another sprung up to take his place, and I bow with all that humility that a nature untempered by grace would allow. (Laughter.) I hope, therefore, with this frank acknowledgment, and owing to the peculiar affliction under which I am laboring, that I shall be excused from further remarks. (Loud cries of 'Go on! go on!') I am trying to get called off, so as not to speak further. I think I will go, any way. ('Go on! go on!') I told you could not make a speech, for I have not my heart with me. I will say to my friends from Pennsylvania, well, if they will give me back my heart again, I will fight. (Laughter.) But I suppose the blow was struck in love. I will try to find honey on the end of the rod. (Laughter.) Now, my fellow-citizens, I intend, as soon as Sunday is over, to leave on a night train for my home. (Laughter.) I am going to do as others have done who have done something they ought not to—ride nights, and put up at some quiet place in day time. (Laughter.) I can't dare go home by daylight. (Laughter.) I am going home as soon as I recover from the shock. (Laughter.) I am going to gird on my little armor, and go out on the hill-tops and in the deep valleys, and for the rail-splitter of Illinois. (Great applause.) But you must not expect it too quick. When a man has been stunned by being knocked on the head, you must wait till returning circulation enables him to come to the scratch."

The Utica *Telegraph* says that when Mr. Seward passed through that city, some one asked him what he would say in Washington as to the probable result of the election in New York. "I will put Lincoln's majority at 70,000," said he. "That's pretty high," said some one in the crowd; "how do you figure it?" "Why, Michael McQuaid said I would certainly have 50,000 in this State, if nominated, and Greeley asserted that anybody else could get 20,000 more than I; therefore Lincoln must receive 70,000." A Republican suggested that Lincoln's large majority would rest upon a basis as substantial as that of Greeley's opinion.

Platt, editor of the Poughkeepsie *Eagle*, has returned from Chicago, not much pleased with his journey, and desperately disappointed. He appears to be particularly down upon the delegation from Indiana, of which he speaks as follows: "From Indiana there was a delegation to which few pens can do justice. Had the occasion been a national agricultural fair, the first impression of any outsider would have been that that State had resolved to bear off the premium in the exhibition of *asses*, especially on account of their superiority in *braying*. It was clear that they had been sent to perform one duty only, and that was to howl against Mr. Seward that he could not carry that State. With the exception of three or four, the entire body had no other idea."

THE CHICAGO PLATFORM AND THE CANDIDATES.

We have a platform as sound and conservative as the Constitution of our common country, as wise and all-comprehensive as the varied and vast interests of the Republic, and with us it is no sin to quote the Sermon on the Mount, or to believe in the Declaration of American Independence. We present you a candidate for the Presidency upon that platform who in his person is an apt illustration of our free institutions. An orphan child, born to no inheritance, but with an honest heart and name, a strong right arm and industrious habits, he has carved out for himself the proudest position on earth. He bears aloft to day the meteor flag of our common country in his strong right arm, and around the name of Honest Abraham Lincoln cluster the hopes of the whole world for the perpetuation of free government. [Great applause.] This obscure child of labor spent a large portion of his life in the humble vocation of a farm laborer, and when I look over this vast assembly, composed in part of young men, my heart grows stronger and my hope grows brighter. There listens to me, perhaps, this day, some honest son of toil who yet shall reach the place higher than kings, higher than emperors, the proudest position upon earth, the position of President of the United States. [Applause.] Abraham Lincoln is at once distinguished lawyer, a patriotic statesman and a leading politician for the last twenty years, whose political discussions with Stephen A. Douglas show him to-day to be one of the ablest, if not the very ablest political debater on the whole continent.

Now, is he worthy to be preented to you as a candidate? What high quality do you most desire in your President? You desire above all things plain, old-fashioned honesty, and Abraham Lincoln is a synonym for all that is honest. Sirs, he has come through the fiery furnace of three heated political contests in Illinois, and to day there is not a smell of fire on all his garments. No man has dared to impute to him aught save honesty and integrity. His mind is beautiful in its purity; beautiful as is the fragrant flower of his own prairie home, and his life and character is as pure and spotless as the crystal water which laves the northern shore of his Northwestern home, and as the proud representative of American institutions he will be your President in 1861, and in the presence of thirty millions of people upon the eastern portico of your great Capitol he will assume those duties so intimately connected with the well being and destiny of thirty millions of freemen. In the enthusiasm sweeping over this whole land from the lakes to the Ohio, from Maine to the Wabash; in the watch fires of freedom which now blaze upon a thousand hill tops, and light up a thousand valleys; in this enthusiasm which greets us I catch the spirit of prophecy. I hear the tramp of the march of coming events, and foresee that Abraham Lincoln is to be President in 1861, and that that decree is written in the book of fate. I believe it. [Much applause.]

Hannibal Hamlin is the worthy associate of this great man. [Applause.] Coming from the East, wherefrom the very earliest dawn of the history of man the wise men have come by the way of the East. [Laughter and much applause.] I know of nothing in the history of Hannibal Hamlin that can be quoted to his discredit, except that he did linger in Egypt rather too long. [Laughter.]

BY JESSE W. WEIK.

NATIONAL political conventions are of comparatively modern origin; in fact, they did not come into vogue till the campaign of 1832. Prior to that time the candidates for President were chosen by "party committees in Congress." The first semblance of a national convention was a meeting of the ill-starred Anti-Masonic party held in Baltimore late in September, 1831. One hundred and thirteen delegates, representing twelve states, came together, proclaimed certain principles called a platform and nominated William Wirt of Virginia for President and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania for Vice President. The new arrangement seemed to meet a long-felt want. It soon won its way into popular favor with the result that it has finally grown to be a necessary and indispensable part of our political machinery.

Of the various national conventions—most of which have been held within the memory of men yet living—four are especially noteworthy for their profound and far-reaching results. They are the Democratic and Republican conventions of 1860, the Republican convention of 1880 and the Democratic convention of 1896. The Republican convention at Philadelphia in 1856, which resulted in the nomination of John C. Fremont, is also more or less memorable, but the convention of the same party four years later not only surpasses the Philadelphia meeting in point of political importance, as well as real dramatic interest, but is the opening page of the most vivid and momentous chapter in our nation's history.

In accordance with the call issued by Governor Edwin D. Morgan of New York, chairman of the national committee, the delegates to the second Republican national convention assembled at Chicago May 16, 1860. The sessions were held in a frame building known as the Wigwam erected "expressly for the use of the convention at a cost of $7,000, capable of holding 10,000 people and admirable for its acoustic excellence." David Wilmot of Pennsylvania was temporary and George Ashmun of Massachusetts permanent chairman.

Among the many prominent characters in attendance were Horace Greeley, accredited as a delegate from Oregon; Carl Schurz of Wisconsin, Francis P. Blair Sr. of Maryland, William M. Evarts of New York, Thaddeus Stephens of Pennsylvania and Henry S. Lane of Indiana.

Describing the opening scenes a correspondent of the period writes:

"The rush for places was tremendous. The doors, about twenty-five feet wide each, were simultaneously thrown open and three torrents of men poured in, rushing headlong for first positions. The standing room holding 4,500 persons was packed in about five minutes. The galleries, where only gentlemen accompanied by ladies were admitted and which contain nearly 3,000 persons, were already full. There was a great deal of fun and some curious performances in filling them. Ladies to accompany gentlemen were in demand—schoolgirls being found on the street and given a quarter each to see a gentleman safely in. Other and older girls were much sought after as escorts. One of them being asked to take a gentleman to the gallery and offered a half dollar for so doing, excused herself by saying she had already taken two men in at each of the three doors and was afraid of arrest if she carried the enterprise any further.

"An Irish woman passing with a bundle of clothes under her arm was levied upon by an 'irrespressible,' and, seeing him safely into the seats reserved for ladies and accompanying gentlemen, retired with her fee and bundle. Another 'irrepressible' sought out an Indian woman who had been selling moccasins and attempted to escort her in. This was a little too severe, however. He was informed that she was no lady—and the point was argued with considerable vehemence. It was finally determined that a squaw was not a lady. The young Republican protested indignantly against the policeman's decision, claiming equal rights for all womankind."

The second day of the convention witnessed ardent and enthusiastic demonstrations in favor of Seward in the streets and at the Richmond House, where the latter's supporters in great numbers were gathered. Behind bands of music they marched in procession up and down the streets, making a most imposing appearance and passing the Tremont House and other hotels where the friends of the other candidates were massed. But, although far in the lead, the Seward men were now surprised and grievously disappointed to learn that vigorous and determined opposition was manifesting itself in the Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois and Indiana delegations. The Hoosiers were particularly demonstrative, loudly proclaiming that if Seward were nominated Henry S. Lane would be defeated for Governor of Indiana and the Legislature pass irrevocably into Democratic hands.

"Masses of people," reports a correspondent, "poured into town last night and this morning expecting the nomination to be made today and desiring to be present. The press about the hotels was indescribable. Two thousand persons took breakfast at the Tremont House and the crowd in the Wigwam is denser than ever. Some one on the outside sent in the following communication, which was read in the convention: 'To the honorable president of the national Republican convention: Can you not arrange to send out some effective speaker to entertain the 20,000 Republicans gathered outside the building?'"

The reports of the committees on rules and credentials were soon adopted. Then came the platform, "which," reports a spectator, "was received with immense enthusiasm. Pennsylvania went into spasms over the 'tariff plank,' her whole delegation rising and swinging their hats and canes."

Giddings Withdraws After Resolution Is Defeated

At this juncture occurred the dramatic and memorable scene when the veteran anti-slavery agitator, Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, withdrew from the convention because the assembly had voted down his resolution, which was, in reality, a reaffirmation of that portion of the Declaration of Independence which declares that "all men are created equal." Later, after a convincing and impressive speech by George William Curtis of New York, the convention reconsidered its action, adopted the resolution and incorporated it in the platform. At 6 o'clock the platform as a whole was adopted and the convention adjourned.

"So confident," writes one who was present, "were the Seward men, when the platform was adopted, of their ability to nominate their great leader that they urged an immediate ballot and would have had it if the clerks had not reported that they were unprovided with tally sheets. They are in high feather and entertain no particle of doubt of his nomination in the morning. They have had a champagne dinner at the Richmond House—where, it is said, they cracked 300 bottles—and have bands of music serenading the various delegations at their headquarters.

"Among the Seward supporters on the ground were Thurlow Weed, William M. Evarts, Moses H. Grinnell, James Watson Webb, Edwin D. Morgan, James W. Nye, George William Curtis and other men of influence and note in business, politics and literature. So bright were Seward's prospects at the close of Thursday, the second day of the convention, that Horace Greeley, who was bitterly opposed to him, telegraphed his paper, the New York Tribune, at 11:40 p. m. that "the opposition to Seward can not concentrate on any one and he will be nominated."

Mr. Greeley's prediction was the result of a careful study of the situation, and Seward would undoubtedly have been nominated following the adoption of the platform but for the failure of the clerks to provide themselves with the required tally-sheets—a trivial incident in itself, but, as the sequel proved, a circumstance which finally proved fatal to Seward's prospects.

Between midnight and the hour set for the opening of the convention Friday morning the situation began to change, and the machinery was set in motion which not only brought about Seward's destruction, but also paved the way for Lincoln's nomination.

Much of the radical change of sentiment which thus so unexpectedly developed was due to the vigilance and incessant activity of Henry S. Lane and certain members of the Indiana delegation. Lane, who shortly before had been nominated for Governor by the Republican state convention at Indianapolis, was everywhere protesting that the nomination of Seward meant his certain defeat for Governor at the polls in October, and if Seward were successful he (Lane) would feel impelled to "give up the canvass." Another important service rendered by Lane was to help break Seward's strength in the New England states. Only three other states—New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio—were stronger numerically in the national convention than Indiana, which, being a doubtful state with an election in October, gave the opinions and utterances of the Hoosiers great weight with the delegates from other states. It was by reason of this fact that Lane was able to secure the promise of Vermont to come to Lincoln on the second ballot after that state had cast its complimentary vote for Collamer; also to aid materially in gaining a portion of the votes of Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts on the first ballot, as well as induce fourteen of the Virginia delegation to desert Seward and come to Lincoln.

"While the New Yorkers," writes a correspondent at the close of Thursday's proceedings, "were exulting over Seward's apparently certain victory, the Pennsylvanians, Indianians and Illinoisans were not asleep. Hundreds of them never closed their eyes all night. Henry

WEIK

Lane at 1 o'clock, pale and worn, with ne under arm, was walking, as if for a uger, from one caucus room to another the Tremont House." He had succeeded in bringing the Indiana delegation go as a unit for Lincoln. The majority of the latter, following in the lead Gen. George K. Steele, who lived in e extreme west side of the state and ew Lincoln well, were for the Illinois an. Bates and McLean also had some pporters, but, moved by the arguments d entreaties of Lane and Steele, the tire delegation had fallen into line for ncoln long before the time for balloting d arrived.

The threat that Seward could not carry diana was not without its effect on the inds of delegates from various parts of e country. It is related that the Massachusetts delegation on its way to the nvention was so profoundly impressed y the representations of the Hoosiers, ho boarded their train for Chicago at Michigan City, Ind., that four of the rmer decided to drop out of the Seward olumn and the record shows that they oted for Lincoln on the first ballot.

Day of Graft Had Not Arrived in Politics

The Chicago convention was noteworthy or its freedom from intrigue and its rict adherence to principle. The day f graft had not yet arrived. As a matter of party expediency the question was: What candidate of unquestioned fidelity o Republican principles can carry the our Northern states—Pennsylvania, New ersey, Indiana and Illinois—which Fremont failed to carry in 1856. Pennsylania had a candidate in Simon Cameron nd New Jersey one in William L. Dayon, but they only expected complimenary votes from their own states.

Friday morning found the wigwam so rowded that not a foot of space was nocupied. The New York delegation xulting and confident of Seward's riumph, strove to make its march to he convention hall with banners and usic as imposing as possible; but it roved to be a costly display, for, while he New Yorkers were parading the treets, the Illinoisans were rapidly nd systematically filling the wigwam, so hat when the Seward procession arrived here was little room left except the seats eserved for the delegates.

"What pen shall adequately describe the rast audience of 10,000 souls," writes a spectator, "the low, wavelike roar of its ordinary conversation; the rolling cheers that greeted the entrance of popular favorites; the solemn hush which fell upon it during the opening prayer? There was just enough of some unexpected preliminary wrangle and delay to arouse the full impatience of both convention and spectators, but at length the names of candidates were announced. The ceremony was still in its simplicity. The more recent custom of short, dramatic speeches from conspicuous and popular orators to serve as electrifying preludes had not yet been invented. 'I take the liberty,' said Mr. Evarts of New York, 'to name a candidate to be nominated by this convention for the office of President of the United States, William H. Seward.'

"'I desire," followed Mr. Judd, 'on behalf of the delegation from Illinois to put in nomination as a candidate for President of the United States Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.' Then came the usual succession of possible and alternative aspirants who were to be complimented by the first votes of their states—William L. Dayton, Simon Cameron, Salmon P. Chase, Edward Bates, Jacob Collamer, John McLean. The 'complimentary statesmen' were lustily cheered by their respective state delegations, but at the names of Seward and Lincoln the whole wigwam seemed to respond together. For a moment the struggle resolved itself into a contest of throat and lungs."

"When Blair of Michigan," relates another spectator, "seconded the nomination of Seward the effect was startling. Hundreds of persons stopped their cars in pain. The shouting was absolutely frantic and wild. No Comanches, no panthers ever struck a higher note or gave screams with more infernal intensity. Looking from the stage over the vast amphitheater nothing was to be seen below but thousands of hats—a black, mighty swarm of hats—flying with the velocity of hornets over a mass of human heads, most of the mouths of which were open. Above, all around the galleries hats and handkerchiefs were flying in the tempest together. As Delano of Ohio seconded the nomination of Lincoln the uproar broke out wilder and more vociferous than ever. I thought the Seward yell could not be surpassed, but the Lincoln boys were clearly ahead, and, feeling their victory as there was a lull in the storm, took deep breaths all around and gave a concentrated shriek that was positively awful and accompanied it with stamping that made every plank and pillar in the building quiver. Henry S. Lane leaped upon a table and swinging hat and cane performed like an acrobat. The presumption is he shrieked with the rest, as his mouth was desperately wide open; but no one will ever be able to testify that he has positive knowledge of the fact that he made a particle of noise. His individual voice was lost in the aggregate hurricane."

The first ballot foreshadowed Seward's waning fortunes. Vermont, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania gave their votes to their "favorite sons," although four of Pennsylvania's votes went to Lincoln and eight of Ohio's also. Part of the Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Virginia and Kentucky delegations also went to Lincoln. Then Indiana gave its twenty-six votes—the fourth largest delegation in the convention—for the immortal railsplitter.

"This solid vote," relates an eyewitness, "was a starter and the keen little eyes of Henry S. Lane glittered as it was given, for he was responsible for it." The ballot resulted in 173½ for Seward; 102 for Lincoln, necessary to a choice 233. The second ballot followed immediately. Lincoln gained 79 and Seward 11. The third ballot began amid suspense and excitement deep enough to test one's nerves. The defection from Seward in New England, like a rift in the mountain, was gradually widening. Four more votes from Massachusetts went to Lincoln; four from Pennsylvania and fifteen from Ohio. Before the tellers could add up the vote or make their report a number of spectators and delegates who had been keeping track of the figures already knew what the totals were—that is they knew that Lincoln had to his credit 231½; Seward had fallen to 180. Lincoln needed but one vote and a half to make him the nominee!

Col. Preston Gives the Deciding Vote for Lincoln

"A profound stillness suddenly fell upon the wigwam: the men ceased to talk and the ladies to flutter their fans; one could distinctly hear the scratching of pencils and the ticking of the telegraph instruments on the reporters' tables. No announcement had been made by the chair; changes were in order, and it was only a question of seconds who should speak first. I looked up," is the story of an eyewitness, "to see who would be the man to give the decisive vote. The man for a similar crisis in the Cincinnati convention in 1856 was Col. Preston of Kentucky. He broke the Douglas line and precipitated the nomination of Buchanan and was rewarded with a foreign mission. In about ten ticks of a watch David K. Cartter of Ohio sprang upon a chair. He is a large man, of striking features, a shock of bristling black hair, large and shining eyes and an impediment in his speech which amounts to a stutter. 'Mr. Chairman (eh),' he shouted. 'I rise (eh) to announce a change of four votes of Ohio (eh) from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln.' The deed was done. Abraham Lincoln was nominated."

State after state insisted on casting unanimous votes for Lincoln before the result of the vote was declared. Finally, when the din and confusion had abated somewhat, the chairman announced that "on the third ballot Abraham Lincoln of Illinois has received 364 votes and is your candiadate for President of the United States." Thereupon Mr. Evarts of New York, with apparent emotion but admirable dignity, moved to make the nomination unanimous. He was followed by Andrews of Massachusetts, Schurz of Wisconsin and Blair of Michigan, who, in the order named, seconded the motion.

"Chicago," relates a newspaper correspondent, "was wild with delight. The 'Old Abe' men formed processions and bore rails through the streets. Torrents of liquor were poured down the hoarse throats of the multitude. A hundred guns were fired from the top of the Tremont House. I left the city on the night train on the Fort Wayne & Chicago road. The train consisted of eleven cars, every seat full and people standing in the aisles and corners. At every station where there was a village, until after 2 o'clock, there were tar barrels burning, drums beating, boys carrying rails, and guns great and small banging away. The weary passengers were allowed no rest, but plagued by the thundering jar of cannon, the clamor of drums, the glare of bonfires and the whooping of the boys, who were delighted with the idea of a candidate for the presidency who, thirty years ago, split rails on the Sangamon River—classic stream now and forevermore—and whose neighbors named him 'honest!'"

*That Mr. Lincoln appreciated the value of Indiana's help during the early stages of the convention is shown by his offer to the state, after his election, of a cabinet appointment. The place—secretary of interior—finally went to Caleb B. Smith, one of the delegates at large to the convention, but for a time Schuyler Colfax was equally as favorably considered. After Mr. Lincoln decided in favor of Smith, he sent Colfax a letter of explanation. "When your name was brought forward," he wrote, "I said 'Colfax is a young man, is already in position, is running a brilliant career and is sure of a bright future in any event; with Smith it is now or never.'"

Lincoln Nomination Balloting

Vote of
The Chicago National 1860
Republican Convention

	1st	2nd	3rd
Seward.	173½	184½.	180.
Lincoln	102	181	231½
Cameron	50½	2	—
Chase.	49	42½	24½
Bates	48	35	22
Dayton	14	10	1
McLean	12	8	5.
Collamer	10	—	—
Scattering	6	2	1
	465	465	465

Necessary to Choice 233
~~After~~ Before third ballot, Ohio changed 4 votes from Chase to Lincoln
who got finally total of 354 then made unanimous

This record of balloting at the Republican national convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860 was kept by William Stoddard, a farmer of Valparaiso, Ind. His granddaughter, Mrs. Geneva Huston of Flossmoor, found the document in his papers.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

REPUBLICAN—1860.

CHICAGO, May 19.—The convention reassembled at 10 o'clock in the Wigwam, agreeable to adjournment.

THE CHAIR—At the adjournment a motion was pending, made by Mr. Goodrich of Minnesota, that the convention do now proceed to ballot for a candidate for President of the United States.

MR. EVARTS of New York—I take the liberty to name as a candidate to be nominated by this convention William H. Seward. [Prolonged applause.]

MR. JUDD of Illinois—I desire, on behalf of the delegation from Illinois, to put in nomination as a candidate for President of the United States Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. [Immense applause, oft renewed.]

The names of Edward Bates, Simon Cameron, Salmon P. Chase, and seven others were duly placed in nomination.

The convention then balloted. The result was announced by the secretary of the convention as follows: For Seward, 173½; for Lincoln, 102; for Cameron, 50½; for Chase, 49. [Others trailed.]

The chair announced that, no candidate having received a majority of the whole number of votes cast, the convention would proceed to a second ballot.

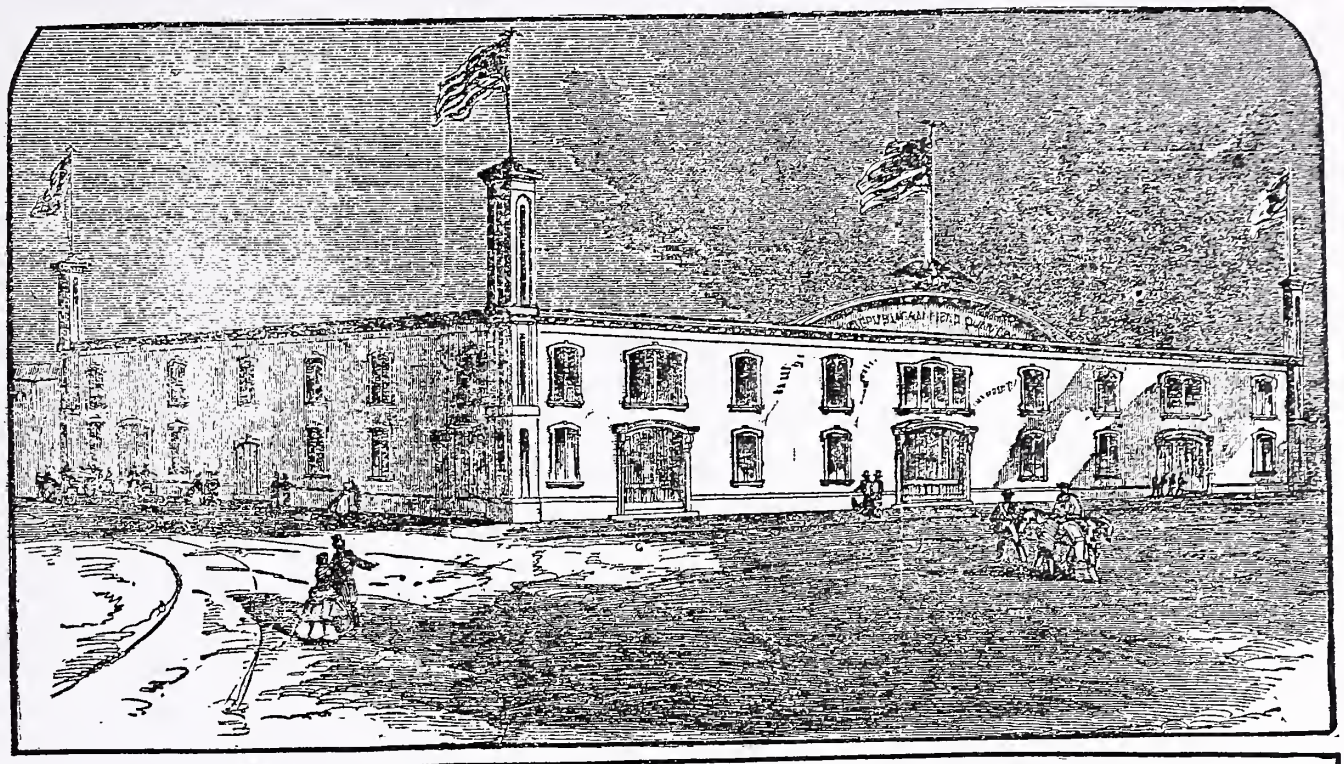
This ballot gave Seward 184½; Lincoln, 181. A third ballot gave Seward 180 and Lincoln 231½, only four votes short of nomination.

MR. CARTER of Ohio—I arise, Mr. Chairman, to announce the change of four votes from Ohio from Mr. Chase to Abraham Lincoln.

This announcement, giving Mr. Lincoln a majority, was greeted by the audience with the most enthusiastic and thundering applause. The entire crowd rose to their feet, applauding rapturously, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs, the men waving and throwing up their hats by thousands, cheering again and again. The applause was renewed and repeated for many minutes.

A life size photograph of Mr. Lincoln was brought upon the platform and the audience greeted the sight with rapturous and long continued cheering.

A Close View of the Great Chicago Convention



THE WIGWAM AT CHICAGO

A NOTABLE contribution to the Lincoln literature now timely is a letter written from Bloomington, Ill., May 27 by Leonard Swett, one of the most distinguished lawyers of his time and who at that period practiced law in Bloomington. The letter was written to Josiah Drummond of Portland, Me., directly after the famous Republican convention of 1860 in Chicago, when Lincoln was first nominated to the presidency.

Swett was one of the closest friends of Lincoln, and his description of the convention and his opinion of the great emancipator will be read with deep interest by all admirers of the martyred President.

The letter reads:

"I made the acquaintance of Mr. Lincoln early in 1849. Since then we have traveled over five counties, spending together most of the time from September until January and from March until June inclusive. Originally most of the lawyers did this, but lately, one by one, they abandoned the circuit, and for perhaps five years Lincoln and myself have been the only ones who have habitually passed over the whole circuit.

"It seems to me that I have tried 10,000 lawsuits with him or against him. I know him as intimately as I have ever known any man in my life, perhaps more intimately, if possible, than I knew you when I left Waterville.

"I was with him the week before the convention. In speaking of the propriety of his going to it, he said that he was too much of a candidate to go and not quite enough to stay at home. Our delegation was instructed for him, but of the twenty-two votes in it, by incautiously selecting the men, there were eight who would gladly have gone for Seward.

"The first thing after getting our headquarters was to have the delegation proper invite the co-operation of outsiders as though they were delegates. Thus we began. The first state approached was Indiana. She was about equally divided between Bates and McLean. Saturday, Sunday and Monday were spent upon her, when finally she came to us unitedly with twenty-six votes and from that time acted sufficiently with us.

"Seward came there with very nearly enough strength to nominate him; that is, men who intended to vote for him. Bates was the next strongest, but that element was in opposition to Seward, because he was not available in the doubtful states and would, as we well knew, come to the winning man in opposition to him.

"Pennsylvania wanted Cameron and insisted that Seward would not carry that state. New Jersey wanted Dayton and insisted that Seward would not carry that state. So the first point was gained, that is, the united assertion of the four doubtful states, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois, that Seward would be defeated.

"Our programme was to give Lincoln 100 votes on the first ballot, with a certain increase afterward so that in the convention our fortune would appear to be doubtful but rising. Vermont, Delaware and New Hampshire had agreed to give us their second vote and it worked like a charm. After the first days we were aided by the arrival of at least 10,000 people from central Illinois and Indiana.

"It was a part of the Seward plan to carry the convention by outside pressure. Stores were closed and seemingly the whole city was there. The nomination of Seward was greeted by a deafening shout which I confess appalled us a little. Then came Lincoln and our people tested their lungs. We beat them a little. Caleb Smith of Indiana seconded the nomination of Lincoln and the west came to the rescue.

"No mortal eye ever saw such a scene before. The idea of our Hoosiers and Suckers being outscreamed would have been as bad to them as the loss of their man. Five thousand people at once leaped to their feet, women not wanting in the number, and the wild yell made soft whisper breathing of all that had preceded. No language can describe it. A thousand steam whistles, ten acres of hotel gongs, a tribe of Comanches, headed by a choice vanguard from pandemonium, might have mingled in the scene unnoticed.

"This was not the most deliberate way of nominating a President, I confess, but it had its weight. Our increase after the first ballot was more than we calculated. On the third our ground swell was irresistible, and the cannon with its mimic thunder soon told the city and surroundings that we had won. It was a glorious nomination.

"Seward could not have carried Illinois or Indiana; nothing is more certain than this. Our people when they opposed Seward did it from no other motive than the reason that it lost us our state, our Senator Trumbull his place and placed us under the ban of Locofocoism for twenty years. We felt that we could not endure this, and hence the earnest effort for Lincoln.

"The nomination saves us. We will sweep the whole Northwest.

"The nomination is from the people, not the politicians.

"No pledges have been made, no mortgages executed, but Lincoln enters the field a free man. He will continue so until the day of election.

"He is a pure-minded, honest man, whose ability is second to no one in the nation. In twenty years he has raised himself from the captaincy of a flatboat on the Mississippi to the captaincy of a great party in this nation, and when he shall be elected he will restore thte government to its pristine purity."

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION 1860

Newspapers- Illinois State Democrat 1860. Springfield
Illinois State Register 1860 Springfield
Register 1860 Canton Illinois
Fulton County Ledger 1860 Canton Illinois.

Books that may used.

New York Tribune association.
Political text book for 1860... compiled by Horace Greeley and John F. Cleveland. New York, Published by the Tribune association, 1860

Proceedings of the National Republican convention, held at Chicago, May 16th 17th, & 18th 1860. Chicago Press & Tribune 1860 (Press & Tribune documents for 1860. no 3)

Proceedings of the Republican National convention held at C Chicago Albany, Weed 1860

Title page of Hutchinson's songster.

Hutchinson's / Republican songster/ for/ the campaing of/ 1860/ Edited by/ John W. Hutchinson,/ of the Hutchinson family of singers/ "Lincoln and Liberty"/ New York/ O.Hutchinson,publisher,/ 67 Nassau Street./ 1860/

DELEGATES TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION 1860

INDIANA.

At Large:		
	Wm. T Otto	New Albany
	Daniel D. Pratt	Logansport
	Caleb B. Smith	Indianapolis
	P. A. Hackleman	Rushville
1st Dis.	James C. Veatch	Rockport
	C. M. Allen	Vincennes
2nd. "	Thos. C Slaughter	Corydon
	J. H. Butler	Salem
3rd "	Jno. R. Cravens	Madison
	A. C. Vorhies	Bedford
4th "	George Holland	Brookville
	J. L. Yates	Versailles
5th "	Miles Murphy	Newcastle
	Walter March	Muncie
6th "	S. P. Oyler	Franklin
	John S. Bobbs	Indianapolis
7th "	George K. Steele	Rockville
	D. C. Donnohue	Greencastle
8th "	John Beard	Crawfordsville
	J. N. Simms	Frankfort
9th "	Charles H. Test	Mudges Station
	D. H. Hopkins	Crown Point
10th "	George Moon	Warsaw
	George Emmerson	Angola
11th "	William W. Connor	Noblesville
	John M. Wallace	Marion

ILLINOIS

At Large:		
	Norman B. Judd	Chicago
	Gustavus Koerner	Belleville
	David Davis	Bloomington
	Orville H. Browning	Quincy
1st Dis.	Jason Marsh	Rockford
	Solon Cummings	Grand de Tour
2nd "	George Schneider	Chicago
	George T. Smith	Fulton
3rd "	B. C. Cook	Ottawa
	O. L. Davis	Danville
4th "	Henry Grove	Peoria
	E. W. Hazzard	Galesburg
5th "	William Ross	Pittsfield
	James S. Erwin	Mt. Sterling
6th "	Stephen T. Logan	Springfield
	N. M. Knapp	Winchester
7th "	Thomas A. Marshall	Charleston
	William P. Dole	Paris
8th "	F. S. Rutherford	Alton
	D. K. Green	Salem
9th "	James C. Sloo	Shawneetown
	D. L. Phillips	Anna.

OHIO 23 votes

At Large

Hon. D.K. Cartter, Cleveland
Hon. V.B. Horton, Pomeroy
Hon. Thomas Spooner, Redding
Hon. Conrad Broadbeck, Dayton

Districts

1. Benj. Eggleston, Cincinnati
   Fred Hassaureck "
2. R.M. Corwine, "
   Joseph H. Barrett "
3. Wm. Becket, Hamilton
   P.P. Lowe, Dayton
4. G.D. Burgess, Troy
   John E. Cummings, Sidney
5. David Taylor, Defiance
   E. Graham, Perryburg
6. John M. Barrere, New Market
   Reeder W. Clarke, Batavia
7. Hon. Thomas Corwin, Lebanon.
   A. Hivling, Xenia
8. W.H. West, Bellefontaine
   Levi Geiger, Urbana
9. Earl Bill, Tiffin
   D.W. Swigart, Bucyrus
10. J.V. Robinson, jr., Portsmouth
    Milton L. Clark, Chillicothe
11. N.H. Van Vorhees, Athens
    A.C. Sands, Zelaski
12. Willard Warner, Newark
    Jonathan Renick, Circleville
13. John J. Gurley, Mt. Gilead
    P.N. Schuyler Norwalk.
14. James Monroe, Oberlin
    G.U. Harn, Wooster
15. Hon. Columbus Delano, Mt. Vernon
    R.K. Enos, Millersburg
16. Daniel Applegate, Zanesville
    Caleb A. Williams, Chesterfield
17. C.J. Allbright, Cambridge
    Wm. Wallace, Martin's Ferry
18. H.Y. Beebe, Ravenna
    Isaac Steese, Massillon
19. Robt. F. Paine, Cleveland.
    R. Hitchcock, Painesville
20. Joshua R. Giddings, Jefferson
    Milton Sutliffe, Warren
21. Samuel Stokely, Steubenville
    D. Arter, Carrollton

WEIK

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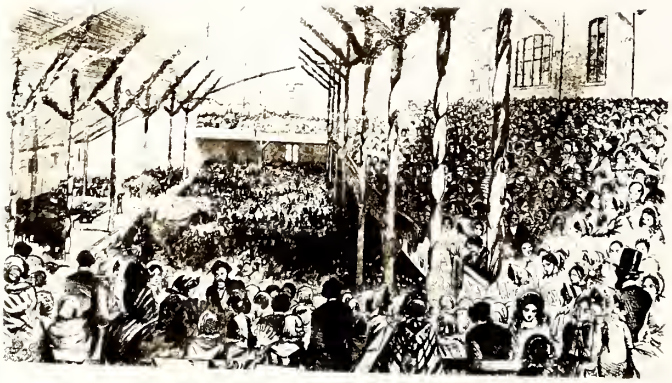
3. INTERIOR OF THE " WIGWAM." This lively picture of the Republican Convention which nominated Lincoln is taken from Harper's Weekly, for May 19, 1860

(Use Shaw II, p.43)



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THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860
From a contemporary drawing

See this in Shaw II - p. 13